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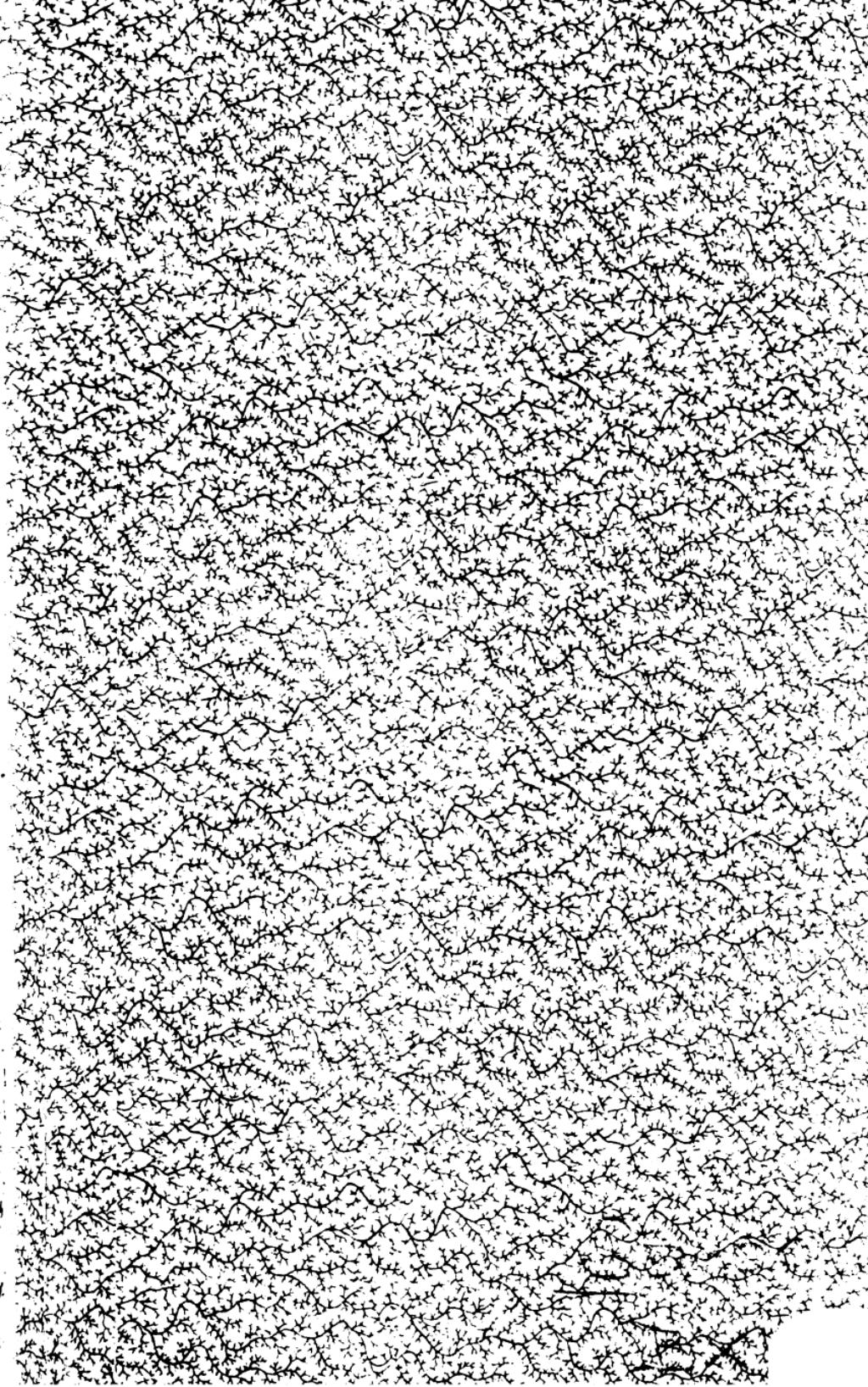


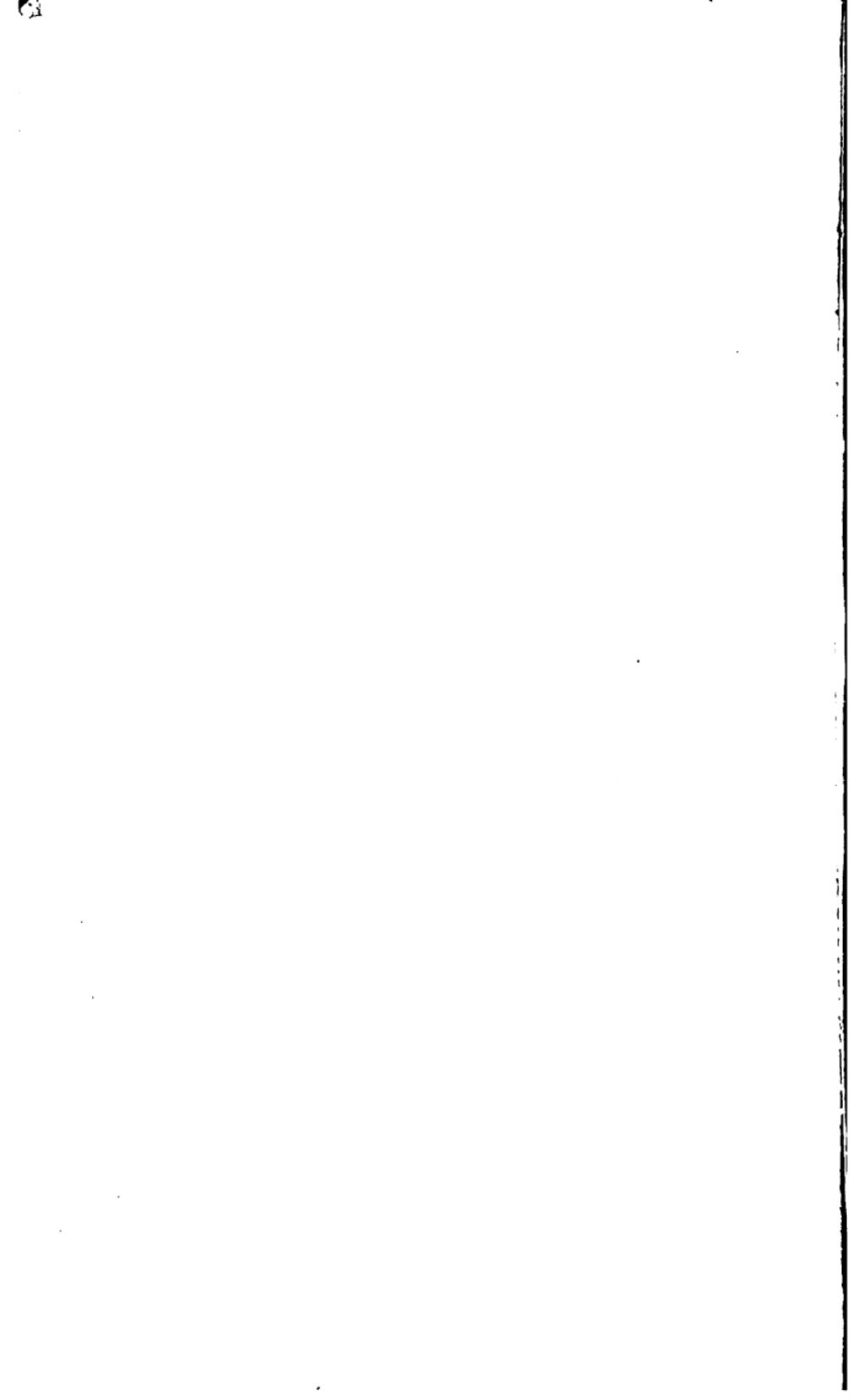
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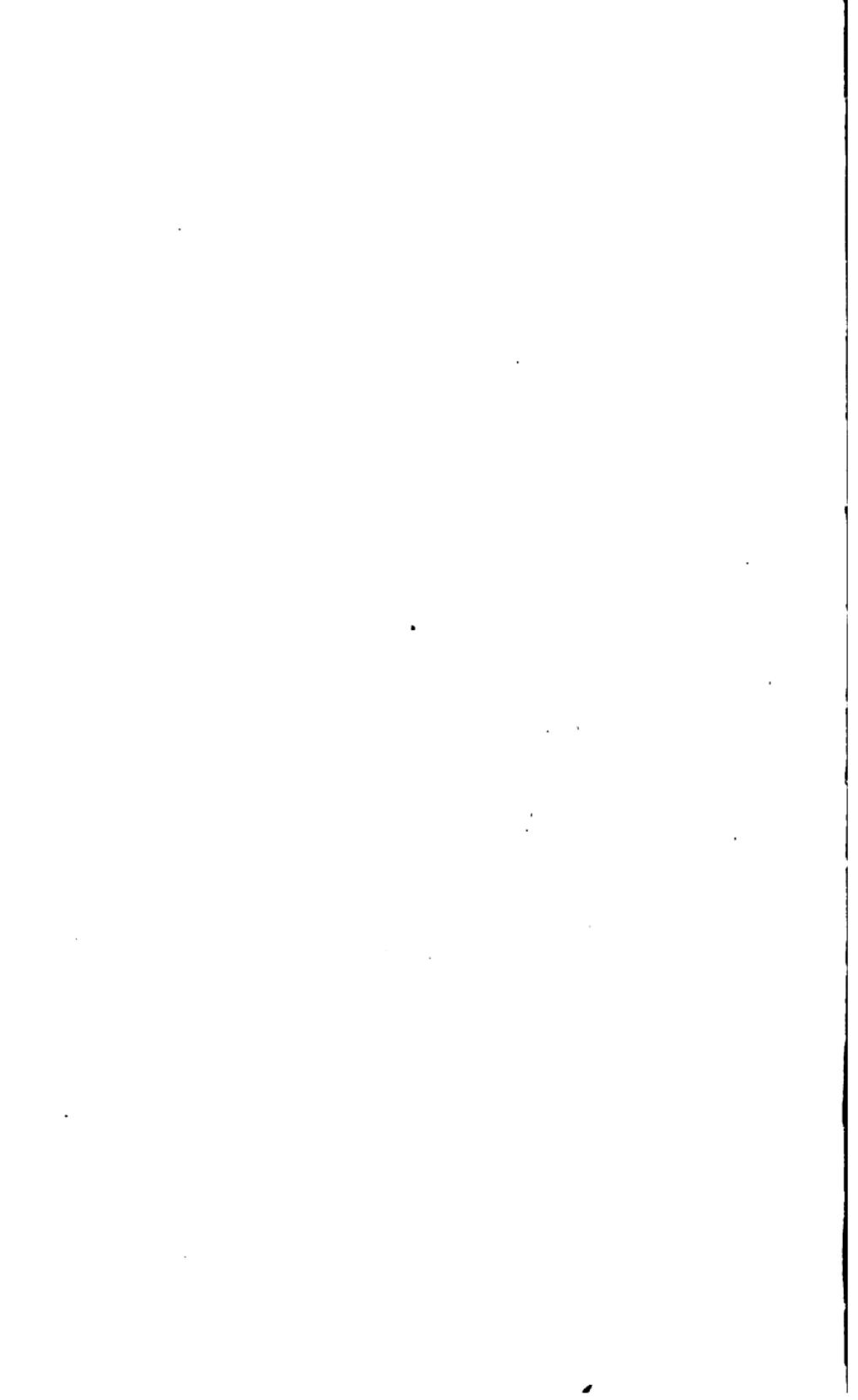


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# R E V I E W S

OF

## A P A R T

OF

PRESCOTT'S 'HISTORY OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA,'

AND OF

PLAUTUS.

CAMPBELL'S 'LECTURES ON POETRY.'

By

W. E. L. - 1841. 2a

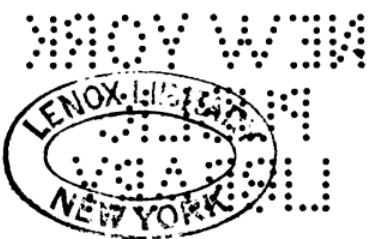
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A

## REVIEW

OF

THAT PORTION OF PRESCOTT'S 'HISTORY OF FER-  
DINAND AND ISABELLA,'

WHERE

A PARALLEL IS DRAWN  
BETWEEN

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND ISABELLA  
OF SPAIN.

NEW YORK  
MICHIGAN  
NEW YORK

## R E V I E W.

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THE interesting History of Ferdinand and Isabella has been too well received to need any laudatory comments of ours ; and it is not without reluctance that we feel compelled to express our dissent from the author of a work so invaluable. In doing this however we object only to that small portion of the history where a parallel is drawn between the characters of Elizabeth of England and Isabella of Spain, two of the most illustrious sovereigns that ever graced a throne.

The English queen had, from the beginning of her reign, to contend with nearly the whole of Christendom ; whilst the religious belief of the Catholic queen not only accorded with that of her subjects, but with the religious creed of all the potentates of Europe, with the Roman pontiff at their head. Now, although we

are not insensible to the great and amiable qualities of Isabella, we feel compelled to avow a decided preference to the English queen for her superior intellectual endowments. Few monarchs so nobly contended with and overcame so many adverse combinations. From the earliest period she was assailed by the Catholic, whose power in her own dominions nearly equalled that of the Protestant, party. The pope had issued a bull declaring Elizabeth to be illegitimate ; and of course all were licensed to seize, and put her to death, or consign her to perpetual imprisonment, as might suit the views of the party opposed. The queen of Scotland was declared to be the lawful heir of the English crown, and was supported by a powerful confederacy, who openly avowed their intention to dethrone the heretical queen, and place her accomplished rival on the throne. Nor were bigoted enthusiasts wanting to carry their plots into execution ; witness the desperate and daring assassinations, to which recourse was so frequently had, to rid the party of the eminent defenders of the protestant faith.

This assuredly may palliate in some degree the duplicity practised by Elizabeth to obtain possession of a rival, who, so long as she retained power, had never ceased to exert it, to accomplish the destruction of the English queen. The events, which followed the captivity of Mary, were but acts in the same drama, all tending to the consummation of the plot ; for although Elizabeth had possessed herself of the person of Mary, it did not put an end to the conspiracies hitherto employed for the subversion of her kingdom, and the sentence which doomed Mary to die appeared the only al-

ternative allowed by the law of self-defence. The same law may, we apprehend, plead in justification of Mary, who had, when in captivity, no other way of freeing herself from the power of Elizabeth, although no excuse of this kind could be urged in defence of the previous hostile measures which had kept Elizabeth in perpetual peril and anxiety. It should be remembered that, during much of this period, the royal competitor of Elizabeth was the acknowledged queen of Scotland, and the consort of the heir apparent of France. Nevertheless the talents of Elizabeth enabled her to triumph over her insidious foes, who threatened to overwhelm the whole protestant party, and again subject them to the oppressive yoke of catholicism.

The glorious spirit, which actuated the English queen, has been diffused and transmitted through successive generations, and has been the source from whence the British nation have derived their true greatness. In later days, impelled by the same spirit, they have broken in pieces the gigantic power of a bold usurper, who had subjected to arbitrary sway a great portion of continental Europe, and was preparing to extend his iron sceptre over distant lands. But their last great act, in breaking the fetters of their African subjects and restoring them to the rights of humanity, attests a nobleness of soul which entitles the British nation to take precedence of all others.

But to return to our subject. Elizabeth, like Isabella, was by her vigilance, magnanimity, and economy, prepared to meet and overcome all the difficulties and dangers to which she was exposed, and both alike guarded with tenacity their rights and prerogatives;

yet how much more arduous was the task Elizabeth was called to sustain ! Isabella was married at an early age to the husband of her choice, on whom she relied with confidence for support and assistance, and was moreover aided by the Cortez, a most influential legislative body, in all her plans of reform : Whilst Elizabeth spoke and acted from her own convictions and responsibility, and in so doing has become obnoxious to remarks on her masculine qualities ; yet, if energy in the administration of government and a determination to repress abuses be deemed exclusively masculine, Isabella must come in for her share. Nevertheless, the beauty of the latter, with her bland and engaging temper, and the sensibilities which were called into action by all the endearing ties of domestic life, have created a strong and decided preference for this most interesting queen. Yet it may with confidence be asserted in justice to Elizabeth, that, had she departed this life when at the age of Isabella, she would have been as deeply lamented, not only by her subjects, but by the whole protestant party, who relied on her as the protector and great bulwark of their faith.

The English queen had no kind mother to foster and expand the best affections of the heart ; no husband to support and countenance her enactments ; and the current of self-love was not diverted from its course by powerful, enduring, maternal affection ; moreover those, who were bound by the ties of consanguinity, were her most deadly foes. That Elizabeth was harsh may have resulted from the unkindness to which she had been subjected in her early days, when she

had been compelled to practise duplicity, to screen herself from the jealousy of the bigoted Mary. These perverse circumstances, over which Elizabeth could have no control, may have formed those unpleasing features of her mind, which have tarnished and obscured the lustre of its higher and nobler feelings. The faults and follies of Elizabeth have received but little indulgence, although incident to humanity, and her fondness for dress has exposed her to many sarcastic remarks ; yet it may be presumed she was aware of the influence produced by pomp and show, and of course may have deemed it expedient to appear often in splendid attire, with a view to silence and dazzle those who were inclined to question the validity of her title to the crown. Nevertheless we are not disposed to question the taste of Elizabeth for showy habiliments, which it must be allowed has an imposing effect ; neither was the more amiable Isabella, as we have seen, insensible to the influence produced by splendid pageantry on festive occasions. The foolish vanity, attributed to Elizabeth in reference to Mary, we are inclined to believe was excited, not so much on the score of beauty, as from an impression that a sensibility to superior personal qualifications forms a strong bias in favour of the one most highly gifted.

We should not however be willing to deprive Isabella of one particle of the fame so justly her due. Nothing is more truly honorable to the character of this admired queen than her patronage of Columbus. The knowledge, which enabled her to perceive and duly appreciate the probable results of the theory adopted by Columbus, forms a marked distinction be-

tween Isabella and those sovereigns, who could not be induced to favour the designs of this great man ; and the difficulty of procuring funds for the supply of the expedition, which induced Isabella to pledge the crown jewels to answer the demand, proves the little value she had for these ornaments, compared with the great results of scientific discoveries.

In all that pertained to a vigorous administration and a general superintendence in their respective kingdoms, these rival sovereigns alike claim applause and admiration ; and they were both rendered illustrious by their patronage of science and art. ‘ When Sir Francis Drake returned from a successful voyage, wherein he had made many discoveries, &c. the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him, on board the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage.’

But the comparison may be said to end here. The intellectual superiority of Elizabeth raised her above the bigotry and superstitious credulity, which impelled Isabella to become the instrument and abettor of deeds abhorrent to humanity ; deeds which have cast so deep a shade over the lofty character of the Spanish queen. If some persecutions were suffered under the reign of Elizabeth, it was doubtless believed necessary, as the general scope and tendency of her government was to prevent the revival of popery, or some pernicious heresy ruinous to the empire.

Elizabeth possessed those rare and inestimable qualities, which repressed all desire for foreign conquests or any attempt to enlarge the boundaries of her kingdom ; hence she had time to form laws and regula-

tions to promote the good and lasting prosperity of her people. Elizabeth even rejected the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand when offered for her acceptance ; whilst she generously assisted them in maintaining their rights and religion.

The graceful, feminine qualities of Isabella, which form her most pleasing attributes, and incline us to forget or overlook the blighting influences of superstition, have made an indelible impression in her favour. The maternal love and solicitude, manifested amid all the turmoils incident to greatness, are truly attractive ; but the high idea we have formed of this gifted queen inclines us to suspect she did not in reality love so well, or entirely, a husband who had violated the most sacred engagements. Nevertheless it was convenient to soothe the restive spirit of Ferdinand, who did not always submit willingly to the superior judgment of Isabella ; and she had moreover much respect for the talents of the king, and wished him to retain his high station after her decease.

We cannot willingly admit that Elizabeth was denied that consolation in her last hours, which was granted to the favoured Isabella ; or that a mind, exalted by liberal christianity and impressed with a belief in the wisdom and goodness of the God and Father of all mankind, could want that support, which was vouchsafed to her who beheld in God an avenging, implacable Being ; whose mercy was limited to one little sect alone, while, with unrelenting severity, He had doomed all other families of the earth to never-ending torments. The mere contemplation of a result like this must fill a benevolent mind with unspeakable horror.

The mind of Elizabeth appeared firm to the last ; she relied not on external forms for the forgiveness of sins, or frailties ' which flesh is heir to,' but on a merciful Father ; and when exhorted by the Archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts on God, she calmly replied, ' she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from Him.'\*

The author of *Modern Europe* thus concludes his character of the English queen :—' A greater share of feminine softness might have made her more agreeable as a wife or mistress, though not a better sovereign ; but a less insidious policy would have reflected more lustre on her reign, and a less rigid frugality, on some occasions, would have given more success to her arms. But as she was, and as she acted, she must be allowed to have been one of the greatest persons that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be considered as the most illustrious female that ever did honour to humanity.' To the testimony of Russell we have the sanction of Prescott, who, in summing up the characters of Elizabeth and Isabella, says, ' each sovereign conducted her kingdom through a long and triumphant reign, to a height of glory never before reached.'

We have allowed ourselves to be thus diffuse in our remarks, from an impression that strict justice had not been done the English queen by the admired author of *Ferdinand and Isabella*, who in our opinion has, in this instance alone, allowed his partiality to overcome that strict adherence to justice which characterizes this invaluable work. Nevertheless we truly appreciate theimanly independence of Mr. Prescott, which has

\* See *Hume's History of England*, vol. iv. p. 530.

enabled him to disregard those petty distinctions and confined views, which prompt many to limit all that is good or great within the circumscribed space of Christendom. True, christians might justly claim this proud distinction, did those who profess this sublime religion act up to their high calling.

The wonderful talents of these gifted sovereigns render the objections, commonly urged in reference to the incapacity of females to fill high and responsible stations, altogether inadmissible ; more especially when reference is made to many other illustrious females who have adorned the seat of empire. Yet we wish not to advocate the propriety of females quitting their proper sphere of action, or to encourage them to enter the lists with men, as we are confident no stations are more important than those attached to a daughter, wife, and mother. In this last relation especially, what can demand the exertion of higher talents than are required to form the minds and bodies of children, and prepare them to act well their parts in society ! Yet, if it be desirable and expected that women should well and faithfully execute the duties thus devolving on them, let not that power be withheld, which alone can enable them to fulfil their responsible destination. Why should women be subjected to the arbitrary will or caprice of beings fallible like themselves ? Or why should they in any instance be compelled to practise artifice or duplicity to obtain a desired good ; and thus vitiate the minds of children, and confound their natural sense of justice ? May not our greatest calamities be ascribed to these corrupting influences ? Moreover

should not a more sacred regard be had for the rights and privileges of women, than for those of men, because in truth they are less able to exact or win those they are by nature entitled to possess ? Should our countrymen, who have by their valour and patriotism achieved freedom for themselves, perpetuate the thraldom of their companions and friends, whose bosoms alike glowed with the sacred love of liberty, and whose spirits as indignantly revolted against oppression ?\*

To all who have been accustomed to take comprehensive views it must be apparent, that the interests of both sexes are so deeply blended that they cannot be separated, and that the good of both equally requires a revision of those laws, which operate so injuriously on that sex who most require their protecting influence.

A retrospective view of the most prominent acts of the English queen will make it apparent, that she is fairly entitled to the pre-eminence we have given her ; especially when reference is had to the beneficial and important results obtained by the wisdom and energy of her government. The Elizabethan reign is justly celebrated for the encouragement afforded to genius and literature. Spencer and Shakspere were the or-

\* Should not Elizabeth be regarded as one highly endowed, and raised up by God to be the bulwark of the protestant faith, and thus free an enlightened portion of Christendom from the galling yoke of Catholicism ? May we not also believe that this spirit descended on our Washington of glorious memory, and enabled him, under divine providence, to achieve freedom for our country, and cause it to be numbered among the nations of the earth ?

naments of the virgin reign. ‘ Spencer has immortalized himself by his work entitled the *Fairy Queen*, the most considerable allegorical poem in the English language, which in many respects deserves the reputation which, through two centuries, it has enjoyed. This poem was addressed to Queen Elizabeth, the great topic of all the learned, and the adulation of the age ; and she is therefore typified by the person of the *Fairy Queen*, and several incidents of her history are related under the veil of allegory.’

‘ The Latin letters of her learned preceptor, Roger Ascham, abound with anecdotes of a pupil, in whose proficiency he justly gloried. Writing in 1550 to his friend John Sturmius, the worthy and erudite rector of the Protestant university of Strasburgh, Ascham has the following passages :—“ Numberless honourable ladies of the present time surpass the daughters of Sir Thomas More in every kind of learning. But, amongst them all, my illustrious mistress, the lady Elizabeth, shines like a star, excelling them more by the splendour of her virtues and her learning, than by the glory of her royal birth. In the variety of her commendable qualities I am less perplexed to find matter for the highest panegyric, than to circumscribe that panegyric within just bounds. Yet I shall mention nothing respecting her but what has come under my own observation.

“ For two years she pursued the study of Greek and Latin under my tuition ; but the foundation of her knowledge in both languages was laid by the diligent instruction of William Grindel, my late beloved friend, &c. — The lady Elizabeth has accomplished her six-

teenth year ; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy united with dignity, have never been observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion, and of the best kind of literature. The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endowed with a masculine power of application. No apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English ; Latin with fluency, perspicuity, and judgment ; she also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her hand-writing, whether in the Greek or Roman character. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight. With respect to personal decorations she greatly prefers a simple elegance to show and splendour."

‘ A few more scattered notices may be collected relative to this period of the life of Elizabeth. Her talents, her vivacity, her proficiency in those classical studies to which he was himself addicted, and especially the attachment which she manifested for the reformed religion, endeared her exceedingly to the young king her brother, who was wont to call her, perhaps with reference to the sobriety of dress and manners by which she was then distinguished, his sweet sister Temperance. On her part his affection was met by every demonstration of sisterly tenderness, joined to the delicate attentions and respectful observances which his rank required.’

‘ English literature, under the auspices of Elizabeth and her learned court, advanced with a steady and rapid progress. That of the drama excited in a va-

riety of ways the attention of Elizabeth, and a new impulse was thus given to English genius ; both tragedies and comedies, approaching the regular models, besides historical and pastoral dramas, allegorical pieces resembling the old moralities, and translations from the ancients, were from this time produced in abundance, and received by all classes with avidity and delight. Italy was the storehouse whence the English poets drew their most precious materials ; the school where they acquired taste and skill to adapt them to their various purposes, and the Parnassian mount on which they caught the purest inspirations of the muse. Elizabeth was a zealous patroness of these studies ; she spoke the Italian language with fluency and elegance, and used it frequently in her mottos and devices ; by her encouragement Harrington was urged to complete his version of the *Orlando Furioso*, and she willingly accepted in the year 1600 the dedication of Fairfax's admirable translation of the great Epic of *Tasso*.

‘ About twenty dramatic writers flourished between 1561 and 1590 ; and an inspection of the titles alone of their numerous productions would furnish evidence of an acquaintance with the stores of history, mythology, classical fiction, and romance, strikingly illustrative of the literary diligence and intellectual activity of the age.’—‘ But it was reserved for the transcendent genius of Shakspere alone, in the infancy of our theatre, when nothing proceeded from the crowd but rude and abortive attempts,—to astonish and enchant the nation with those inimitable works, which

form the perpetual boast and immortal heritage of Englishmen.'—'It is agreed on all hands that Shakspere was beloved as a man, and patronized as a poet. Lord Southampton is said to have once bestowed on him a munificent donation of a thousand pounds.—Of any particular gratuities bestowed on him by her majesty we are not informed ; but there is every reason to suppose that he must have received from her, on various occasions, both praises and remuneration ; for we are told that she caused several of his pieces to be represented before her, and that the Merry Wives of Windsor in particular owed its origin to her desire of seeing Falstaff exhibited in love.'

No doubt can be had that Shakspere was highly esteemed by Elizabeth, and of course had imbibed the highest regard and veneration for his queen and benefactress. Nothing can well be imagined more beautiful than the allusion he is supposed to have made to this princess in his Midsummer Night's Dream. It is so exquisitely touching and fanciful that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting it here, as it evinces the admiration and respect of the immortal Bard for his august mistress.

#### LOVE IN IDLENESS.

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Thou remember'st  
Since once I sat upon a promontory,  
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,  
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath  
That the rude sea grew civil at her song ;  
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres  
To hear the sea-maid's music.  
That very time I saw (but thou could'st not)

Flying between the cold moon and the earth,  
Cupid all arm'd ; a certain aim he took  
At a fair vestal, throned by the west,  
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,  
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts :  
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft  
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon ;  
And the imperial votaress passed on,  
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.  
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell :  
It fell upon a little western flower,—  
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound,—  
And maidens call it, love-in-idleness.

Spencer also was much esteemed by Elizabeth, and received from her a pension, which in truth was justly his due ; albeit, if we may judge from the eloquent and touching complaint of the poet, was but indifferently attended to by those whose duty it was to see the orders of the queen executed.

‘ Learning, on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles. Queen Elizabeth wrote and translated several books, and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue in addition to many others. It is said she made an extemporary reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addresssed her in that language. It is certain that she answered in Latin, without premeditation and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect. She translated Boethius on the consolation of philosophy, in order as she said to allay her grief for Henry fourth's change of religion.’

‘Never perhaps was the accession of any prince the subject of such keen and lively interest to a whole people as that of Elizabeth.—The sex, the youth, the accomplishments, the graces, the past misfortunes of the princess, all served to heighten the interest with which she was beheld ; the age of chivalry had not yet expired ; and, in spite of the late unfortunate experience of a female reign, the romantic image of a maiden queen dazzled all eyes, subdued all hearts, inflamed the imaginations of the brave and courtly youth with visions of love and glory, exalted into a passionate homage the principle of loyalty, and urged adulation to the very brink of idolatry.’

Elizabeth’s love of admiration, which continued to the latest period of her life, has been adverted to by all the writers, whom admiration and pity of the fair queen of Scots have rendered hostile to her memory ; and they have taken a malicious pleasure in exaggerating this weakness by denying her, even in her freshest years, all pretension to those personal charms by which her rival was so eminently distinguished. Others however have been more favourable, and probably more just to her on this point ; and it would be an injury to her memory to withhold from the reader the following portraiture, which authorizes us to form a pleasing as well as majestic image of this illustrious female at the period of her accession, and at the age of five-and-twenty.

‘She was a lady of great beauty, of decent stature, and of an excellent shape. In her youth she was adorned with a more than usual maiden modesty ; her skin was of pure white, and her hair of a yellow

colour ; her eyes were beautiful and lively. In short, her whole body was well made, and her face was adorned with a wonderful and sweet beauty and majesty. This beauty lasted till her middle age, though it declined,\* &c. The other character, by Naunton, differs not materially from Bohun's. 'She was of person tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well favoured, but high-nosed ; of limbs and features neat, and, which added to the lustre of those exterior graces of stately and majestic deportment,† &c.

' While Elizabeth was held a prisoner on various pretexts, and treated with great rigour in consequence of the extreme jealousy of Mary, and in hourly dread of some attempt on her life, she was surprised by an offer, from the highest authority, of immediate liberty, on condition of her accepting the hand of the duke of Savoy in marriage.

' Oppressed, persecuted, and a prisoner, sequestered from every friend and counsellor, guarded day and night by soldiers, it must have confidently been expected that the young princess would embrace joyfully this un hoped-for proposal. But the firm mind of Elizabeth was not thus to be shaken, nor her penetration deceived. She knew that it was her reversion of an independent English crown which she was required to barter for the matrimonial coronet of a foreign dukedom ; and she felt the proposal, as what in truth it was, an injury in disguise. Fortunately for herself and her country, she had the magnanimity to disdain

\* Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth.

† Miss Aikin, vol. i. p. 204.

the purchase of present ease and safety at a price so disproportionate ; and, returning to the overture a modest but decided negative, she prepared herself to endure with patience and resolution the worst that her enraged and baffled enemies might dare against her.'

The trials and sufferings, to which Elizabeth was for a long time exposed, need not to be here related ; but it is well known that she constantly rejected every proposal of marriage, although she received the most splendid which Europe could afford, and in England nobles the most accomplished and of the highest order aspired to the hand of their queen without success. ' The respectful and even importunate address of the house to fix her choice of a husband, which they supposed could not be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age, met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her ; that any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess ; that, even while she was a private person and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement which she regarded as an incumbrance ; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects ; that, as England was

her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she showed her finger with the same gold ring upon it with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration,) so all Englishmen were her children ; and while she was employed in rearing and governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable ;' &c.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the finances were extremely low, and much confusion and embarrassment were felt on account of the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister. Great disorders were introduced into every part of the administration ; the people were much agitated by divisions ; and Elizabeth was convinced nothing but tranquillity, during some years, could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition. With a view to remedy these evils the queen practised the greatest economy, which in some instances seemed to border on avarice. She was attentive to every thing which could augment the revenue. She raised the customs, by reforming abuses, from fourteen thousand pounds a year, to fifty thousand ; and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profits.

This improvement of the revenue was opposed by some of the queen's principal ministers ; but her perseverance overcame all their opposition. ' The great undertakings, which she executed with so narrow a revenue and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and economy.'

' That there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure, and even refused subsidies from

the parliament when she had no present occasion for them, saying the money was as secure in the hands of her people, as in her own coffers.'

The splendour of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge ; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence except in clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister—an incredible sum for that age. The states of Holland, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds ; and the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand ; yet the queen could never, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses. One payment, of about seventy thousand crowns, was all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her.

' The Irish war, though successful, was extremely burdensome on the queen's revenue ; and, besides the supplies granted by parliament, she had been obliged, notwithstanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, such as selling the royal demesnes and the crown jewels, and exacting loans from the people, in order to support this cause, so essential to the honour and interests of England. The necessity of her affairs obliged her again to summon a parliament ; and it here appeared, that, though old age was advancing fast upon her, and though she had lost much

of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Essex,\* yet the powers of her prerogative, supported by vigour, still remained as high and uncontrollable as ever.

' The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments ; and the queen, who was not able from her revenue to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, had used the expedient of granting to her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies ; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased.

' These monopolies were felt to be an intolerable grievance, and a petition had been introduced into the lower house and presented to the queen, praying to have these monopolies abolished, who still persisted in defending her patents. The courtiers maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for success, if they did not make application in the most humble and respectful manner to the queen's goodness and beneficence ; that it was vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes, since, by means of her dispensing power, she could dispense with any clause she pleased, and then with the statute. But the queen, who perceived how odious these monopolies had become, sent for the speaker and desired him to acquaint the house that

\* The artifices used to induce the queen to sign the warrant for the execution of Essex are well known. .

she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents.

' The house were struck with admiration, and astonishment, and gratitude, at this extraordinary instance of the queen's goodness and condescension. The members expressed their great joy, some with tears in their eyes. One observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen was a kind of gospel, or glad tidings, and ought to be received as such, and be written in the tablets of their hearts ; and it was farther remarked, that, in the same manner as the Deity would not give His glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness. The house voted, that the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty, and return thanks for her gracious concessions to her people.

' When the speaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themselves on their knees ; and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the commons, because her sacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her blessed hands ever stretched out to relieve. They acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness acknowledged, that, before they called, her preventing grace and all-deserving goodness watched over them for their good ; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all He promiseth, appertained also to her ; and that she was all truth, all

constancy, and all goodness. And he concluded with these expressions : Neither do we present our thanks in words, nor any outward sign, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness ; but, in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your safety.

‘ The queen heard very patiently this speech, in which she was flattered in phrases appropriated to the Supreme Being ; and she returned an answer full of expressions of tenderness toward her people. Thus was this critical affair terminated ; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity and preserved the affections of her people.

‘ The commons granted her a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths ; and they were so dutiful as to vote this supply before they received any satisfaction in the business of monopolies, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance to the interests and happiness of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that concession, by keeping the supplies in suspense, so haughty was the queen’s disposition, that this appearance of constraint and jealousy had been sufficient to have produced a denial of all their requests,’ &c.

Hume, from whose History of England\* we have extracted these accounts, has sought to make it appear

\* Hume, page 526.

that Elizabeth was influenced by selfish motives, with very little reference to her people's good. Now, although no doubt can be had that self-respect deterred Elizabeth from asking supplies when she could accomplish her purposes without, yet these impressions were unquestionably induced and strengthened by her unwillingness to burden her subjects; and the comprehensive mind of the queen knew her own fame and glory to be altogether blended with that of her people; and she manifested this feeling in too many instances to admit of any sincere doubts of her motives.

Hume will not allow the economy of Elizabeth to have proceeded from motives of a generous and tender regard for her subjects; because, as he states, she loaded them with monopolies, &c.; yet, with the inconsistency of prejudiced people, he explains the cause why she had been obliged to grant these patents which we have previously quoted; to which, he says, she did not resort, until she had employed every other expedient in her power,—such as selling the royal demesnes, and crown jewels, and exacting loans from the people, &c. It is natural to imagine that the queen was not aware of all the consequences which would result from her grants. She intrusted this privilege to those only whom she believed were incapable of abusing her favors. Nothing can more fully demonstrate the injustice done to the character of this celebrated queen, than that of ascribing her fondness for dress and state, as paramount to all other objects. Had this been true, she would not have parted with the crown jewels, and royal demesnes, to supply the

exigencies of the government, when these would so greatly have contributed to the gratification of this taste. In this instance Elizabeth discovered more self devotion and patriotism, than the justly admired queen of Spain, who nobly pledged the crown jewels to enable Columbus to prosecute his great scheme of discovery. Had Elizabeth pledged these appendages of royalty, she might have expected one day to reclaim them; but she actually sold them to support a war essential to the honor and interests of England.

Again Hume says, 'But what tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her subjects was her frugality, which, though carried sometimes to an extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people, who were at that time very little accustomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid economy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; often with interest, a practice in that age somewhat unusual. And she had established her credit on such a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum which the public exigencies might require.' The high character here given of Elizabeth by Hume, it will be perceived, is contradictory to his former assertions, previously noticed; yet these facts speak for themselves. It must also be conceded that the integrity and honor of Eliza-

beth far surpassed that of any other European sovereign, if we may form a judgment from the refusal of the renowned 'French king to pay the sums the queen had so generously advanced during his greatest distresses.'

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the English princes had usually recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low that, besides paying the high interest of ten or twelve per cent, they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, that great and enterprising merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged a company of merchant adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners. In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Gresham to borrow for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased.

The persecutions in France and the low countries drove a great number of foreigners into England, and the commerce as well as manufactories of that kingdom were very much improved by them. It was then that Sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the exchange for the reception of the merchants. The queen visited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

'Queen Elizabeth, sensible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was de-

sious to encourage commerce and navigation. And, notwithstanding many discouragements, the spirit of the age was strongly bent on naval enterprises; and besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new discoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened. Sir Martin Frobisher undertook three fruitless voyages to discover the northwest passage; and Davis discovered the Straits which pass by his name. In the year 1600 the queen granted the first patent to the East-India company. The stock of that company was seventy-two thousand pounds, and they fitted out four ships under the command of James Lancaster, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was successful, and the ships returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce. Thus the foundation of a mercantile company, which has advanced itself to power and importance absolutely unparalleled in the annals of the world, forms a feature not to be overlooked in the glory of Elizabeth.

‘ The communication with Muscovy had been opened in queen Mary’s time, but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on, to a great extent, till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar an exclusive patent to the English, for the whole trade of Muscovy; and she entered into a personal, as well as a national alliance with him. The English, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained, ventured further into these countries than any Europeans had formerly done.

‘The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583, and that commerce was confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time the grand signior had conceived England to be a dependent province on France, but having heard of the queen’s power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

‘Henry Eighth, in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ships from Hamburgh and others places; but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing, both by building some ships of her own and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which on occasion were converted into ships of war.

‘In the fifth of this reign, was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.’

The wisdom and equity of Elizabeth in her government is strikingly manifested in the remark of Harrison, who, in book 2, chap. 2, says, ‘that in the reign of Henry Eighth there were hanged seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues, besides other malefactors; this makes about two thousand a year: but in queen Elizabeth’s time,’ the same author says, ‘there were only between three and four hundred a year hanged for theft and robbery, so much had the times mended.’

‘Elizabeth was strongly solicited to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands; and the maritime situation of these provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were beginning to culti-

vate commerce and naval power. But this princess, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active policy was to maintain the tranquillity and promote the interest of her own dominions. Elizabeth refused in positive terms the sovereignty proffered her; yet, in return for the good will shown her by the Prince of Orange and the states, Elizabeth determined to embrace their protection, which seemed intimately connected with her safety; and she foresaw the danger she must incur from the catholics in the Low Countries. She therefore concluded a treaty with them, in which she stipulated to aid them with men and money on prescribed terms.'

We have taken a brief view of some of the improvements under the reign of Elizabeth; but many of minor importance have been omitted, although all tended to effect the same great results. Many sovereigns have gained the title of Great, in consequence of having wantonly lavished the blood and treasure of their subjects in acquiring conquests, and carrying ruin and devastation among the industrious and peaceful inhabitants of a country, on some idle pretext. But the glory of Elizabeth consisted in promoting the permanent good of her people, by encouraging useful arts and industry, and in adorning the age by the encouragement of taste and literature.

This princess then, with whom no other sovereign except Alfred can compare, may in truth be called great;—none beside ever introduced so many impor-

tant improvements, or possessed the wisdom and magnanimity to decline any acquisition of territory, either by conquest or treaty. Elizabeth waged no wars, except in self defence ; and in this it appears she differed from all other powerful sovereigns. Had she been influenced by a lust for power to invade the territories of other potentates, what havoc and devastation would have followed in the train of war ! yet, not only were the calamities attendant on hostile invasions avoided by the magnanimous and equitable government of Elizabeth, but, while almost all Europe were in commotion, England alone enjoyed a profound tranquillity.

By her interference also, the United Provinces were enabled to withstand the cruel and despotic power of Philip, and eventually to establish their freedom on lasting foundations. No contrast can be imagined greater than that which existed between Elizabeth of England, and the sanguinary and bigoted Philip Second of Spain. This prince, on his accession to the throne, was esteemed the most fortunate sovereign in Europe, whose wealth and power made him universally dreaded,—yet left a name detested for his vices, and weaknesses, and lust of power.

Few sovereigns succeeded to a throne in more difficult circumstances than queen Elizabeth, and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her

people. By her superior capacity, she preserved her people from those confusions, in which theological controversy had involved all the neighboring nations ; and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, and the least scrupulous, she was able, by her superior talents and vigor, to make deep impressions on their states. Her own greatness meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired, and shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe.'

That the pacific temper of Elizabeth did not result from fear is apparent from her decided resistance to all encroachments on the prerogatives of the crown ; or any attempt to resist her lawful sway. But above all, by the noble defence she made against the tyrannic power and insidious policy of Philip, and the wonderful conquest she achieved over the Invincible Armada, —so denominated by the Spaniards, elated by their power and vain hopes of conquest.

Philip's ambition, and his desire to extend his power, were much encouraged by the prosperous state of his affairs ; by the conquest of Portugal ; the acquisition of the East-India commerce and settlements ; and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America ; and he had long harbored a secret and violent desire of revenge against Elizabeth. The point however on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support orthodoxy, and exterminate heresy ; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the protestants, he hoped, that, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the

eternal renown of reuniting the whole christian world in the catholic communion.

England lay near to Spain and was much exposed to invasion from that quarter. After an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty seemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art nor nature. A long peace deprived it of all military discipline and experience, and the catholics, in which it still abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader who should free them from those persecutions under which they labored, and should revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another on land ; and what comparison between the English and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies ?

During some time Philip had been secretly making preparations ; but, as soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. In all the ports of his dominions, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force, —naval stores were bought at a great expense,—provisions amassed,—armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain,—and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling, to rein-

force the Duke of Parma. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honor of this great enterprise, and hastened to join the army under that great commander; no doubts were entertained, but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful.

News of these extraordinary preparations soon reached the court of London. And notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was easily concluded that they meant to make some effort against England. The queen had foreseen the invasion, and finding that she must now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance, nor was she dismayed by that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thousand men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size.

All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships to reinforce this small navy. And they discovered great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those eminent perils with

which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause, instead of fifteen vessels which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double that number. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned forty-three ships at their own charge ; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy ; and the most renowned seamen in Europe served under him. A small squadron commanded by Lord Seymour also served under Lord Howard.

The land forces of England were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast, and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards,—to waste the country around,—and to wait for reinforcements from the neighboring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, and was commanded by Lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear.

The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies were able to land, seemed to depend on the fate of a single battle; and men of reflection entertained the most dismal apprehensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the Duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age, and compared this formidable armament with the military power which England, not enervated by peace but long disused to war, could muster up against it.

The chief support of the kingdom appeared to consist in the wisdom and vigor of the queen's conduct; who, undismayed by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her.

All the protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their distance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth's, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she encountered that dreadful tempest, which was every moment advancing towards her.

The queen on this occasion reminded the English of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain. All the barbarities exercised against the protestants were ascribed to the councils of that bigoted nation; and every artifice, as well as reason, was employed to ani-

mate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties. But while the queen, in this critical emergency, roused the animosity of the nation against popery, she treated the partisans of that sect with moderation, and gave not way to an undistinguished fury against them. Though she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the present pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her,—had deposed her,—had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance,—had published a crusade against England,—and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion, she would not believe that all her catholic subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for despatching the leaders of that party, although they cited in support of this atrocious proposal, the example of her father Henry Eighth. She would not even confine any considerable number of them ; and the catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service.

Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army. Some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to protestants ; others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbors, to the defence of their country ; and every rank of men, burying for the present all party distinctions, seemed

to prepare themselves with ardor, as well as vigor, to resist these invaders.

The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy; and rather to perish in battle, than to survive the ruin and slavery of her people. By this spirited behavior, she revived the tenderness and admiration of the soldiery, and attachment to her person became a kind of enthusiasm among them. They asked one another, whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause,—could display less fortitude than appeared in their female sovereign,—or could ever, by any danger, be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic princess ?

The queen, on this occasion, was mounted on a noble charger, with a general's truncheon in her hand, a corselet of polished steel laced on over her magnificent apparel, and a page in attendance bearing her white-plumed helmet. She rode bare-headed from rank to rank, with a courageous deportment and smiling countenance, amidst the affectionate plaudits and shouts of military ardor, which burst from the animated and admiring soldiery.

We shall not attempt to detail the particulars of that signal victory, obtained by English seamanship and

English valor, against the boasted armament of Spain, prodigiously superior as it was in every circumstance of force, except in the moral energies employed to wield it. The history of the year 1588, in all its details, must ever form a favorite chapter in the splendid tale of England's glory. Not a single Spaniard set foot on English ground except as a prisoner. One English vessel only, and that of small size, became the prize of the invaders. The king of Scots, standing firm to his engagements with his illustrious kinswoman, afforded not the slightest succor to the Spanish ships, which the storms and the English drove, in shattered plight, on his rugged coasts. And many of the vessels were wrecked on the coast of Ireland in their disastrous circumnavigation of Great Britain, so that not more than half of this vaunted Invincible Armada returned in safety to the ports of Spain. Never, in the records of history, was the event of war on one side more satisfactory and glorious, on the other more deeply humiliating and utterly disgraceful. Philip affected to hear the tidings of this great disaster with dignified composure; but it was out of his power to throw the slightest veil over the dishonor of the Spanish arms, or repair the total and final failure of the great popish cause.

By the English nation, this signal discomfiture of its most dreaded and detested foe was hailed as the victory of protestant principles, no less than of national independence; and the tidings of the national deliverance were welcomed by all the reformed churches of Europe, with an ardor of joy and thankfulness proportioned to the intenseness and anxiety with which

they had watched the event of a conflict, where their own dearest interests were staked, along with the existence of their best ally and firmest protector.

Repeated thanksgivings were observed in London in commemoration of this great event. On the anniversary of the queen's birth a general festival was proclaimed, and celebrated with sermons, singing of psalms, bonfires, &c. ; and on the following Sunday her majesty went in state to St. Paul's, magnificently attended by her nobles and great officers, and borne along on a sumptuous chariot formed like a throne, with four pillars supporting a canopy, and drawn by white horses. The streets through which she passed were hung with blue cloth, in honor doubtless of the navy, and the colors taken from the enemy were borne in triumph.

Her majesty rewarded the lord admiral with a considerable pension, and settled annuities on the wounded seamen, and on some of the more necessitous among the officers ; the rest she honored with much personal notice and many gracious terms of commendation.

Previous to the invasion of England by the Spaniards, the king of Denmark having, by his ambassador, offered to mediate between the parties, the queen declined the overture, adding, 'I would have the king of Denmark, and all princes, christian and heathen, to know, that England hath no need to crave peace ; nor hath myself endured one hour's fear since I attained the crown thereof, being guarded with so valiant and faithful subjects.' Such was the lofty tone which Elizabeth, to the end of her days, maintained towards foreign powers.

The glorious termination of this war, achieved by the great wisdom and energy of Elizabeth, who, under divine influence, was the mover of all the arrangements which led to those important results, which freed the protestants from the machinations and cruel tyranny of the merciless Philip, admits scarcely of any comparison with that war waged by the sovereigns of Spain for the extirpation of the Moors. Whatever honor redounded to Isabella, for the heroism she displayed throughout the dreadful scenes of the bloody contest, with the skill and humanity evinced on the most pressing emergencies, and the successful issue of the contest, which ended by expelling a polished, enlightened, industrious people, from their long-cherished homes, from cities embellished by art, and by whose commercial enterprises Spain had been enriched,—when all this was done from a superstitious devotion to bigoted intolerant catholic priests,—this enterprise can assuredly bear no similitude with the noble achievement of the English queen.

From the disastrous conflict with the Moors may be dated the decline of the national prosperity; although Isabella had greatly advanced the interest and honor of Spain by her wise administration, yet the seeds of evil she had sown were abundantly cultivated by her successors, whose inferiority in talents and virtue, while it prevented them from perceiving the beneficial effects of her government, inclined them to adopt the most corrupt measures.

On the other hand, the glory and prosperity of England has not only been established on lasting foundations, but the protestant world has been emancipated

from the intolerable bondage of catholic usurpation. Had other sovereigns adopted the wise and beneficent policy of this wonderful princess, the amount of good produced would be incalculable ; but unhappily not even the people who have most profited by her administration have duly followed her bright example. For her great enterprises, Elizabeth was justly styled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas. May she not with justice be styled the founder of the naval glory of England ?

In compliance with popular prejudices, Elizabeth has been accused of great parsimony ; but it may be asked, for whom or for what purpose was she parsimonious ? She amassed, we are assured, no riches, and even sold the crown jewels, and part of the royal demesnes, rather than burden her subjects. She also refused to receive subsidies when offered, when she had no immediate use for them, declaring the money was as safe in the hands of her people, as in her own possession. With the like perversity, Elizabeth has been charged with unrelenting severity and jealousy. On one occasion, when the queen was sailing on the Thames, with the French ambassador and others, a shot was fired into the boat ; as this was deemed to be accidental, the queen insisted that no one should be punished, saying, 'I will not believe any thing of my subjects, which a parent would not believe of his children.'

On the detection of Babington's conspiracy, the papers of Mary had been seized, sealed up, and conveyed to Elizabeth. Amongst them were letters from a large number of the nobility, and other leading charac-

ters of the English court, filled with expressions of attachment to the queen of Scots, and sympathy in her misfortunes, not unmixed, in all probability, with severe reflections on Elizabeth. All these the queen perused, and no doubt stored in her memory; but her good sense and magnanimity induced her to bury in lasting silence all the discoveries which had reached her through this channel. From instances of this kind, no doubt can be had that the regard and confidence she ever expressed for her people were most sincere, and the devoted attachment manifested by all ranks of her subjects leaves no room to doubt of the love and admiration she inspired.

We have previously remarked, that in most instances, whatever was deemed severe or capricious, may be attributed to the peculiar embarrassments with which Elizabeth had to contend, although we do not insist she was exempt from human frailties.

The queen of Scots, from the time when Elizabeth first ascended the throne to the period of her condemnation, was a perpetual source of trouble and disquietude to the queen of England, and to all her faithful subjects. Not satisfied with her acknowledged right to the crown of Scotland, and her marriage with the heir apparent of France, Mary assumed the title of queen of England, and her title was supported by the pope, who issued a bull declaring the birth of Elizabeth to be illegitimate, and after, one of excommunication against Elizabeth, as has been seen, &c.

Mary was entirely devoted to the Romish church, and appears to have deemed no sacrifice too great, which would sustain and propagate that faith. When

therefore she solemnly denied having any knowledge of the plot to assassinate Elizabeth and place the crown on her own head, she had previously received absolution for all her sins, and was assured, that nothing could be more meritorious in the sight of heaven, than to destroy the prevailing heresy. Fully impressed with this belief, she determined to entitle herself to the crown of martyrdom, should she lose the earthly crown for which she had so long contended. Mary scrupled not to declare her innocence even at the scaffold, 'and she died, rather with the triumphant air of a martyr to her religion, the character she falsely assumed, than with the meekness of a victim, or the penitence of a culprit.' She had obtained from Pope Pius a consecrated host, and had reserved the use of it to the last period of her life.

'Mary bade Melvil tell her son that she had done nothing injurious to his rights or honor, though she was actually in treaty to disinherit him, and had also consented to a nefarious plot for carrying him off prisoner to Rome; and she denied to the last the charge of conspiring the death of Elizabeth, though by her will, written the day before her death, she rewarded, as faithful servants, the two secretaries who had borne this testimony against her. A spirit of self-justification so haughty and so unprincipled, a perseverance in deliberate falsehood so resolute and so shameless, ought, under no circumstances, not even in a captive beauty, or an unfortunate queen, to be confounded with genuine religion, true fortitude, or the dignity which renders misfortune respectable.'

Previous to the condemnation of Mary, and while she was endeavoring to gain a greater degree of freedom, under articles guaranteed by the principal powers of Europe, 'even while these terms were under discussion, a letter was intercepted, addressed by the queen of Scots to Sir Francis Englefield, an English pensioner and exile in Spain, in which she thus wrote: 'Whatsoever shall become of me, by whatsoever change of my state and condition, let the execution of the Great Plot go forward, without any respect of peril or danger to me. For I will account my life very happily bestowed, if I may with the same, help and relieve so great a number of the oppressed children of the church. And further, I pray you use all possible diligence, and endeavor to pursue and promote, at the pope's and other kings' hand, such a speedy execution of their former designments, that the same may be effectuated sometime the next spring,' &c.

Elizabeth has been accused of hypocrisy and dissimulation, in pretending to lament the fate of Mary. As it was apparent her own safety and that of her people depended on the event, yet it is natural to suppose she regretted the necessity, thus imposed on her, of sanctioning this deed, and painfully felt the odium to which it subjected her. That Elizabeth had been disposed to favor Mary is proved by her interference to prevent the Scots from forcing her to submit to be tried by her subjects, and insisted on their not declaring she had forfeited her right to the crown of Scotland. Above all, tacitly allowing Mary's title to the English throne, or doing nothing prejudicial to her claim, notwithstanding her incessant plots for the destruction of the Eng-

lish queen. Mary had been treated with all due attention while in England. She had retained her people and servants, had enjoyed society and taken such recreation as was agreeable or needful for health, and the canopy over her chair of state was not removed until her guilt had been fully proved.

Had Elizabeth felt any enmity to Mary, she would not have made her son the heir of England's throne; yet her magnanimity and true greatness of soul made her prefer the claims of justice; and she doubtless perceived the good which would be produced by uniting Scotland with England, thus adding another kingdom to the British empire. Having constantly this in view, she treated with severity every aspirant to the throne. For this Elizabeth has been condemned; but perhaps in no other way could the peace and integrity of the kingdom have been preserved.

Many instances of clemency are recorded, which prove that Elizabeth was not naturally harsh nor unforgiving. She pardoned the first conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk; and even attempted to deter him from prosecuting the enterprise, by privately telling him to beware on what pillow he reposed his head. After the detection of Norfolk's designs, the queen granted his pardon, on his solemn assurance that he would in future abstain from all intercourse with Mary and her party. Nevertheless that nobleman again entered into a deep-laid plot, whose object was to subvert the government, and place Mary on the throne of England. Had this plot succeeded, Elizabeth must either have been put to death, as had been concerted, or sent

prisoner to Rome, an alternative most truly appalling. Norfolk confessed his guilt, was tried and condemned by his peers; but the queen long hesitated to confirm the sentence, until urged in strong terms by her parliament.

The queen of Scots was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, and might feel herself entitled to use any expedient for her own relief, Elizabeth would not proceed to extremities against her. She only sent some of her friends to expostulate with Mary, and to demand satisfaction for those parts of her conduct, which, from the beginning of her life, had been productive of so much disquietude and danger to Elizabeth: Her assuming the arms of England; refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's consent; concurring in the northern rebellion; practising with Rodolph to engage the king of Spain in an invasion of England; procuring the pope's bull of excommunication; and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England.

Mary justified herself from the several articles of charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others. But the queen was little satisfied with her apology, and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. Elizabeth however, satisfied with showing the disposition of the nation, sent to the house her express commands not to deal any further at present in the affairs of the Scottish queen. But though Eliza-

beth would not proceed to extremities against Mary, she was alarmed at the great interest, and the restless spirit of that princess, as well as with her close connection with Spain, and she found it necessary to increase the strictness of her confinement.

Taking this view of the conduct of Elizabeth, it would be unjust to pronounce her temper either harsh or unfeeling; and we must therefore naturally conclude, that the punishments, which were deemed severe or vindictive, were necessary to preserve that peace and prosperity which were enjoyed under her reign, while almost all Europe was plunged in commotion, and subjected to a cruel and merciless warfare. This prosperous state of England must be altogether attributed to the wise and energetic government of Elizabeth; and although from the earliest period she had been perpetually beset with enemies, both at home and abroad, who eagerly sought her life by every artifice which could be devised by the most powerful potentates of Europe, this wonderful princess triumphed gloriously over all their power and detestable machinations.

The fearful uproar, which some years later shook the throne of England to its centre by the violence of its factions, was brought about by the perversity and rage of such spirits as had been repressed by the wisdom and power of this great queen. On the whole, we must be allowed to conclude, that all, who imagine great and good actions are the results of mean and selfish propensities, are themselves incapable of those high and noble aspirations or feelings, which exalt

humanity. Great and important good is not produced by sordid or selfish considerations.

Elizabeth, instead of taking advantage of the intestine troubles in Scotland, interfered only as a mediator, or by remonstrances. When the Scottish ambassador complained of the queen's conduct, she replied, ' tell your master how much I have done, from the beginning, to keep the crown on his head.'

' Meantime Elizabeth was employed in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places,—engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation, and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that, as has been before noticed, she was justly styled the restorer of naval glory and the queen of the northern seas. The great undertakings which Elizabeth executed, with so narrow a revenue and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and economy.'

Nothing can more fully attest her true wisdom, or her enlarged and comprehensive views, than the pre-

ceding remarks of Hume. It was owing to this true greatness of mind that she preserved peace at home, and defied the most powerful enemies abroad.

'The wise ministers and brave warriors who flourished under the reign of Elizabeth, share the praise of her success, but, instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice ; they were supported by her constancy, and with all their abilities they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress. The force of the tender passions was great over her ; but the force of her mind was still superior ; and the combat which her victory cost her serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her sentiments.'

Nothing more fully illustrates the superiority of queen Elizabeth than the great enterprises she accomplished with so small a revenue, when compared with the arbitrary exactions of those sovereigns who preceded her, and the enormous amount of the public debts since her decease. 'It is curious to observe that the minister, in the war begun 1754, was in some periods allowed to lavish in two months, as great a sum as was granted by parliament to queen Elizabeth in forty-five years. The extreme frivolous object of the late war, and the great importance of her's, set this matter in a still stronger light.'

When we first contemplated these remarks on Mr Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella, we intended only briefly to notice the leading charges

against Elizabeth; but on further reflection, it appeared to us due to her to give more strong and more vivid impressions of her lofty character, by a more minute detail of the principal events of that celebrated reign, as some counterpoise to the interesting character of Isabella, given by Mr Prescott, and we can only regret this was not done by the same masterly hand.

Let others take pleasure in slurring a character so unrivalled as was that of Elizabeth, by dwelling on the few frailties and inconsistencies to which humanity is subjected, there will always be found minds capable of estimating the high endowments of this inestimable sovereign.

We have selected from the histories of various authors, mostly from Hume's History of England and Miss Aikin's Court of Queen Elizabeth, the particulars here recorded; but as brevity was essential, the quotations have been as much abridged, as was deemed consistent with truth and justice; nevertheless these, by so doing, have lost much of the beauty of composition and connection contained in the original; credit only has therefore been given without references, and many of our own observations have been likewise introduced.

In relating the memorable events of this reign, it is important to remark, in opposition to general impressions, that few, if any, possessed of so much power as Elizabeth, ever exhibited so placable and tolerant a disposition. This was strikingly exemplified in her treatment of the queen of Scots, when reference is had to the extreme danger to which the queen herself and her whole kingdom were exposed, by the secret plots

and intrigues of Mary. These would in a degree have been excusable, had she acted only in self defence, or to free herself from what she deemed an unjust confinement. But it must be had in remembrance, that Mary, when placed in stations most exalted, and enjoying the sovereignty of two kingdoms, unrestrained by any generous sympathy for a kinswoman whom she knew to be the rightful heir to the English crown, and who was in constant jeopardy by the violence of parties, persisted in urging her own claim to the sovereignty of that kingdom, which could only be acquired by the death or perpetual captivity of Elizabeth. There was a marked difference in the appeals of Mary, when in the power of Elizabeth, to the ties of consanguinity and common ancestry, which it was urged should form a bond of union and amity between parties so connected ; pretensions like these only made the hypocrisy of Mary more apparent.

Another instance may here be cited in proof of the clemency and forbearance of the English queen. Had she been disposed to mark the aberrations or disingenuousness of her subjects, she would not have passed over in silence the disclosures made by the papers found in possession of the queen of Scots, which has been previously related. But the moral grandeur which characterized Elizabeth, was in no instance more finely exhibited, than when she magnanimously determined not to suffer her catholic subjects to receive any wrong, albeit she had many powerful reasons to suspect and fear them, at the perilous period of the Spanish invasion.

These instances, with many minor ones, put beyond all doubt the natural equity and clemency of this admirable princess. Whensoever resort was had to severity, it was unquestionably deemed essential to the security, not only of her kingdom, but of the whole protestant community. From facts like these, it is quite apparent that those catholics, who were punished for their contumacious adherence to the doctrines of the Romish church, obtruded themselves on the public notice, and by openly advocating the supremacy of the pope, virtually denied the right of the queen to govern and regulate her own kingdom. This heresy of course could not be tolerated. Elizabeth, it is well known, was only saved from destruction by her extreme vigilance and extraordinary talents.

No sovereign appears to have enjoyed so much popularity, or to have been so much beloved by her subjects, as was this wonderful princess, nor did any receive so much homage and attention. The excursions she oftentimes made in different parts of her kingdom, not only afforded opportunities of witnessing the condition of her people, but made her acquainted with the grievances under which many labored, who could not otherwise come to the royal ear. Her majesty, we are told, loved popular applause, and was fond of magnificent entertainments, and her reception at the different towns or mansions which she honored with her presence are detailed with great minuteness, and afford both amusement and instruction.

Her visit to the University of Cambridge, in the summer of 1564, presents too many characteristic traits to be passed over in silence. Her gracious in-

tention of honoring this seat of learning with her presence was no sooner disclosed to the secretary, who was chancellor of the University, than it was notified by him to the vice chancellor, with a request that proper persons might be sent to receive his instructions on the subject. It appears to have been part of these instructions, that the University should prepare an extremely respectful letter to lord Robert Dudley, who was its high-steward, intreating him in such a manner to command to her majesty their good intentions, and to excuse any failure in the performance, that she might be inclined to receive in good part all their efforts for her entertainment.

‘Cecil arrived at Cambridge the day before the queen to set all things in order, and received from the University a customary offering of two pairs of gloves, two sugar loaves, and a marchpane ; lord Robert and the duke of Norfolk were complimented with the same gift, and finer gloves and more elaborate confectionery were presented to the queen herself.

‘When she reached the door of king’s college chapel the chancellor kneeled down and bade her welcome ; and the orator kneeling down on the church steps made her an harangue of nearly half an hour. First he praised and commended many and singular virtues planted and set in her majesty, which her highness not acknowledging of, shaked her head, bit her lips and her fingers, and sometimes broke forth into passion and these words, ‘Non est veritas et utinam.’ On his praising virginity, she said to the orator, ‘God’s blessing on thy heart there continue.’ After that he showed what joy the University had in her presence,

&c. When he had done, she commended him and much marvelled that his memory did so well serve him repeating such diverse and sundry matters, &c. This concluded, she entered the chapel in great state, Lady Strange, a princess of the Suffolk line, bearing her train, and her ladies following in their degrees. Te Deum was sung, and the evening service performed with all the pomp that protestant worship admits, in that magnificent temple of which she highly extolled the beauty.

' The next morning, which was Sunday, she went thither again to hear a latin sermon ad clerum, and in the evening the body of this solemn edifice being converted into a temporary theatre, she was there gratified with a representation of the Uluria of Plautus. Offensive as such an application of a sacred building would be to modern feelings, it probably shocked no one, when the practice of performing dramatic entertainments in churches, introduced with the mysteries and moralities of the middle ages, was scarcely obsolete and certainly not forgotten. Neither was the representation of plays on Sundays at this time regarded as an indecorum.

' A public disputation in the morning and a latin play on the story of Dido in the evening, formed the entertainment of her majesty on the third day. On the fourth, an English play called Ezechias was performed before her. The next morning she visited the different colleges, at each of which a latin oration awaited her, and a parting present of gloves and confectionery, besides a volume richly bound containing the verses in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and

Chaldee, composed by the members of each learned society in honor of her visit. Afterward she repaired to St. Mary's church, where a very long and very learned disputation by doctors in divinity was prepared for her amusement and edification. When it was ended, the lords, and especially the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Robert Dudley, kneeling down, humbly desired her majesty to speak something to the University, and in latin. Her highness at first refused; but the bishop of Ely kneeling, said that three words of her mouth were enough. By entreaties so urgent, she was prevailed upon to deliver a speech containing some disqualifying phrases respecting her own proficiency in learning and her attachment to the cause, and a paragraph followed which may be thus translated:—‘I saw this morning your sumptuous edifices, founded by illustrious princes, my predecessors, for the benefit of learning; but while I viewed them, I sighed like Alexander the Great, when having perused the records of the deeds of other princes, turning to his friends or counsellors, he lamented that any one should have preceded him either in time or in actions. When I beheld your edifices, I grieved that I had done nothing in this kind. Yet, did the vulgar proverb somewhat lessen, though it could not entirely remove my concern, that ‘Rome was not built in a day.’ For my age is not yet so far advanced, neither is it yet so long since I began to reign, but that, before I pay my debt to nature, I may still be able to execute some distinguished undertaking: and never will I be diverted from the intention, while life shall animate this frame,’ &c. &c.

‘ The earl of Leicester had been elected chancellor of the University of Oxford, and in the autumn of 1566 the queen consented to honor this seat of learning with her presence, long ambitious of such a distinction. Her majesty was received with the same ceremonies as at Cambridge ; learned exhibitions of the same nature awaited her, and she addressed this University, not in latin but in greek.

‘ A variety of dramatic exhibitions, prepared for her recreation, were performed in the magnificent hall of Christ’s church. When the last play was over, the queen summoned the poet into her presence, whom she loaded with thanks and compliments. The part of the only female in the play was acted by a boy of fourteen, whose performance so captivated the queen that she made him a present of eight guineas. Elizabeth was the foundress of Jesus College, Oxford.

‘ The observation of Lord Talbot, that the Earl of Leciester showed himself more than ever solicitous to improve the favor of his sovereign, received confirmation from the unparalleled magnificence of the reception which he provided for her, when, during her progress in the summer of 1575, she honored him with a visit in Warwickshire. The princely pleasures of Kenilworth were famed in their day as the quintessence of all courtly delight, and very long, and very pompous descriptions of these festive devices have come down to our time. They were conducted on a scale of grandeur and expense which may surprise ; but taste was still in its infancy.

‘ A temporary bridge, seventy feet in length, was thrown across a valley to the great gate of the castle,

and its posts were hung with the offerings of seven of the Grecian deities to her majesty, displaying in grotesque assemblage, cages of various large birds, fruits, corn, fishes, grapes, and wine in silver vessels, musical instruments of many kinds, and weapons and armor hung trophy-wise on two ragged staves. A poet standing at the end of the bridge explained in latin verse the meaning of all. The Lady of the Lake, invisible since the disappearance of the renowned prince Arthur, approached on a floating island along the moat to recite adulatory verses. Arian being summoned for the like purpose, appeared on a dolphin four and twenty feet long, which carried in its belly a whole orchestra. A sybil, a 'salvage man,' and an echo, posted in the park, all harangued in the same strain. Music and dancing enlivened the Sunday evening. Splendid fire-works were displayed, both on land and water; a play was performed; an Italian tumbler exhibited his feats; thirteen bears were baited; there were three stag hunts, and a representation of a country bridal, followed by running at the quintain. Finally, the men of Coventry exhibited, by express permission, their annual mock fight in commemoration of a signal defeat of the Danes.

‘ Nineteen days did the Earl of Leicester sustain the honor of this royal visit, a demonstration of her majesty's satisfaction in her entertainment quite unexampled.

‘ The favorite, anxious to secure his ascendancy by fresh efforts of gallantry and instances of devotedness, entreated to be indulged in the privilege of entertain-

ing her majesty for several days at his seat of Wanstead house ; a recent and expensive purchase, which he had been occupied in adorning with a magnificence suited to the ostentatious prodigality of his disposition.

' It was for the entertainment of her majesty on this occasion, that Philip Sidney condescended to task a genius worthy of better things, with the composition of a mask in celebration of her surpassing beauties and royal virtues, entitled ' The Lady of May.' In defence of this public act of adulation, the young poet had probably the particular request of his uncle and patron to plead, as well as the common practice of the age.'

Unsatiated with festivities and homage, the queen continued her progress from Wanstead through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, receiving the attendance of numerous troops of gentry, and making visits in her way to all who felt themselves entitled or called to solicit with due humility the costly honor of entertaining her. Her train was numerous and brilliant ; and the French ambassadors constantly attended her motions. About the middle of August she arrived at Norwich.

This ancient city, then one of the most considerable in the kingdom, yielded to none in a zealous attachment to protestant principles and to the queen's person ; and as its remote situation had rendered the arrival of a royal visitant within its walls an extremely rare occurrence, the magistrates resolved to spare nothing which could contribute to the splendor of her reception. At the furthest limits of the city she was met by the mayor, who addressed her in a long and very abject latin oration, in which he was not ashamed to pronounce,

that the city enjoyed its charter and privileges 'by her only clemency.' At the conclusion, he produced a large silver cup filled with gold pieces, saying in latin, here is a hundred pounds of pure gold, with which the queen expressed herself much pleased. Pageants were set up in the principal streets, of which one had at least the merit of appropriateness, since it accurately represented the various processes employed in these woollen manufactures, for which Norwich was already famous.

Two days after her majesty's arrival, Mercury—in a blue satin doublet lined with cloth of gold, with a hat of the same garnished with wings, and wings at his feet—appeared under her chamber window in an extraordinarily fine painted coach, and invited her to go abroad and see more shows; and a kind of mask, in which Venus and Cupid with Wantonness and Riot were discomfited by the Goddess of Chastity and her attendants, was performed in the open air. A troop of nymphs and fairies lay in ambush for her return from dining with the Earl of Surry; and in the midst of these heathenish exhibitions, the minister of the Dutch church watched his opportunity to offer to her the grateful homage of his flock. To these deserving strangers, protestant refugees from Spanish oppression, the policy of Elizabeth, in this instance equally generous and deserving, had granted every privilege capable of inducing them to make her kingdom their permanent abode. At Norwich, where the greater number had settled, a church was given them for the performance of public worship in their own tongue, and according to the form they preferred; and encourage-

ment was held out to them to establish here several branches of manufacture, which they had previously carried on to great advantage at home. This accession of skill and industry soon raised the woollen fabrics of England to a pitch of excellence unknown in former ages, and repaid with usury to the country their exercise of public hospitality.

It appears that the inventing of masks, pageants, and devices, for the recreation of the queen on her progresses, had become a distinct profession. George Terriers formerly commemorated as master of the pastimes to Edward Sixth, one Goldingham, and Churchyard, author of the *Worthyngnes of Wales*, of some legends in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and a prodigious quantity of verse on various subjects, were the most celebrated proficients in this branch. All three are handed down to posterity as contributors 'to the princely pleasures of Kenilworth,' and the two latter as the managers of the Norwich entertainments. They vied with each other in the gorgeousness, the pedantry, and the surprisingness of their devices.

Richard Topliffe, who at this time was a follower of the court, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, gives some particulars of this progress worth preserving.—'I did never see her majesty better received (he writes) by two counties in one journey from Suffolk and Norfolk; Suffolk of gentlemen, and Norfolk of the meaner sort, with exceeding joy to themselves and well liking to her majesty. Great entertainment at the master of the Rolls, greater at Kenninghall, and exceeding of all at Norwich.'

Her majesty's reception at this celebrated city was unquestionably truly gratifying. By her enlightened and liberal policy she had become equally the benefactress of these foreigners, and of her own subjects. The character and genius of her government is here well portrayed.

'The hearts of the common people, as this wise princess well knew, were easily won by gratifying them with frequent views of her royal person, and she took frequent opportunities of shewing herself, with gracious condescension, to their ready acclamations.'

'Having supped one afternoon with the Earl of Pembroke, at Baynard's castle in Thames Street, she afterward took boat and was rowed up and down the river, hundreds of boats and barges rowing about her, and thousands of people thronging at the water side to look upon her majesty, rejoicing to see her and partaking of the music and sights upon the Thames.'

The Earl of Pembroke had married 'the niece of Dudley, and sister of Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most accomplished women of her age, celebrated during her life by the wits and poets whom she patronised, and preserved in the memory of posterity by an epitaph from the pen of Ben Jonson, which will not be forgotten whilst English poetry remains.' That Pembroke was so well received at court may in part be attributed to his accomplished wife, who would add lustre to the high circle in which she moved, and thus gratify the taste of the sovereign.

'The arrival of ambassadors from France of high rank, on occasion of the peace recently concluded with

that country, afforded the queen an opportunity of displaying all the magnificence of her court, and their entertainment has furnished for the curious in later times some amusing traits of the half barbarous manners of the age. The Duke of Montmorency, the head of the embassy, was lodged at the bishop's of London, and the houses of the dean and canons of St. Paul's were entirely filled with his numerous retinue. The gorgeousness of the ambassador's dress was thought remarkable, even in those times. The day after their arrival, they were conducted in state to court, where they supped with the queen, and afterward partook of a 'goodly banquet,' with all manner of entertainments till midnight. The next day her majesty gave them a sumptuous dinner, followed by a baiting of bulls and bears. The queen's grace herself stood with them in a gallery looking on the pastime till six o'clock, when they returned by water to sup with the bishop their host. On the following day they were conducted to the Paris garden, then a favorite place of amusement on the Surry side of the Thames, and there regaled with another exhibition of bull and bear baiting. Two days after they departed, taking their barge toward Gravesend, highly delighted, it is to be hoped, with the elegant taste of the English in public diversions.'

' But notwithstanding all outward show of amity with France, Elizabeth had great cause to apprehend that the pretensions of the queen of Scots and her husband the dauphin, who had openly assumed the royal arms of England, might soon re-involve her in hostilities with that country, and with Scotland;

and consequently it became a point of policy with her, to animate by means of military spectacles, graced with her royal presence and encouragement, the war-like preparations of her subjects. She was now established in her favorite summer palace at Greenwich, and the London companies were ordered to muster their men at arms in the adjoining park.'

'The employment of fire arms had not as yet consigned to disuse either the defensive armor, or the weapons of offence of the middle ages, and the military arrays of that time amused the eye of the spectator with a rich variety of accoutrement, far more picturesque in its details, and probably more striking in its general effect, than that magnificent uniformity which at a modern review dazzles but soon satiates the sight.'

'Of fourteen hundred men, whom the metropolis sent forth on this occasion, eight hundred armed in fine corselets bore the long Moorish pike, two hundred were halberdiers wearing a different kind of armor called almain rivels, and the gunners or musketeers were equipped in shirts of mail with morions or steel caps. Her majesty, surrounded by a splendid court, beheld all their evolutions from a gallery over the park gate, and finally dismissed them, confirmed in loyalty and valor, by praises, thanks, and smiles of graciousness.

'A few days after, the queen's pensioners were appointed to run with the spear, and this chivalrous exhibition was accompanied with such circumstances of romantic decoration as peculiarly delighted the fancy of Elizabeth. She caused to be erected for her in

Greenwich park, a banqueting-house made with fit poles, and decked with birch branches and all manner of flowers, both of the field and garden, as roses, july-flowers, lavender, marygolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and rushes. Tents were also set up for her household, and a place was prepared for tilters.'

' After the exercises were over the queen gave a supper in the banqueting-house, succeeded by a masque and a splendid banquet, and then followed great casting of fire and shooting of guns till midnight.'

This band of gentlemen pensioners, the boast and ornament of the court of Elizabeth, was probably the most splendid establishment of the kind in Europe. It was entirely composed of the flower of the nobility and gentry, and to be admitted to serve in its ranks was, during the whole reign, regarded as a distinction worthy the ambition of young men of the highest families and most brilliant prospects. It was the constant custom of the queen to call out of all the counties of the kingdom, the gentlemen of the greatest hopes, and the best fortunes and families, and with them to fill the more honorable rooms of her household servants, by which she honored them, obliged their kindred and alliance, and fortified herself.

' On the 17th of July, the queen set out on the first of those royal progresses, which form so striking a feature in the domestic history of her reign. In them, as in most of the recreations in which she at any time indulged herself, Elizabeth sought to unite political utilities with the gratification of her taste for magnificence.'

'In her progress,' says an acute and lively delineator of her character,\* 'she was most easy to be approached, private persons and magistrates, men and women, country people and children, came joyfully and without fear to wait upon her and see her. Her ears were open to the complaints of the afflicted, and of those who had been any way injured. She would not suffer the meanest of her people to be shut out from the places where she resided, but the greatest and the least were then in a manner levelled. She took with her own hand, and read with the greatest goodness, the petitions of the meanest rustics. And she would frequently assure them, that she would take a particular care of their affairs, and she would ever be as good as her word. She was never seen angry with the most unseasonable or uncourtly approach. She was never offended with the most impudent or importunate petitioner. Nor was there any thing in the whole course of her reign, that more won the hearts of the people than this, her wonderful facility, condescension, and the sweetness and pleasantness with which she entertained all that came to her.'

The first stage of the queen's progress was to Dartford in Kent, where Henry Eighth, whose profusion in the article of royal residences was extreme, had fitted up a dissolved priory as a palace for himself and his successors. Elizabeth kept this mansion in her own hands during the whole of her reign.

'From Dartford she proceeded to Cobham Hall. This venerable mansion is at present the noble seat of the Earl of Darnley ; and though the centre has been

\* Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth.

rebuilt in a more modern style, the wings remain untouched, and in one of them the apartment occupied by the queen on this visit is still pointed out to the stranger. She was here sumptuously entertained by William Lord Cobham, a nobleman who enjoyed a considerable share of her favor, and who, after acquitting himself to her satisfaction in an embassy to the Low Countries, was rewarded with the garter and the place of a privy counsellor. He was however a person of no conspicuous ability, and his wealth and his loyalty appear to have been his principal titles of merit.

‘Eltham, her next stage ; an ancient palace frequently commemorated in the history of our early kings as the scene of rude magnificence and boundless hospitality. In 1270, Henry Third kept a grand Christmas at Eltham palace, so it was then called. A son of Edward Second was named John of Eltham, from its being the place of his birth. Edward Third twice held his parliament in its capacious hall. It was repaired at great cost by Edward Fourth, who made it a frequent place of residence ; but Henry Eighth began to neglect it for Greenwich, and Elizabeth was the last sovereign by whom it was visited. Its hall, one hundred feet in length, with a beautifully carved roof resembling that of Westminster hall, and windows adorned with all the elegance of gothic tracery, is still in being and admirably serves the purposes of a barn and granary.

‘Elizabeth soon quitted this seat of antique grandeur to contemplate the gay magnificence of Nonsuch, regarded as the triumph of her father’s taste, and the master-piece of all the decorative arts. This stately

edifice, of which not a vestige now remains, was situated near Ewel in Surry, and commanded from its lofty turrets extensive views of the surrounding country.

' Henry was prevented by death from beholding the completion of this gaudy structure, and queen Mary had it in contemplation to pull it down to save further charges; but the Earl of Arundel, for the love and honor he bore to his old master, purchased the place and finished it according to the original design. It was to this splendid nobleman that the visit of the queen was paid. He received her with the utmost magnificence. On Saturday night a banquet, a mask, and a concert were the entertainments. The next day she witnessed a course from a standing made for her in the park, and the children of Paul's performed a play; after which a costly banquet was served up on gilt dishes. On her majesty's departure her noble host further presented her with a cupboard of plate. The Earl of Arundel was wealthy and munificent, and one of the finest courtiers of his day; but it must not be imagined that even by him such extraordinary cost and pains would have been lavished upon his illustrious guest as a pure and simple homage of that sentimental loyalty which feels its utmost efforts repaid by their acceptance. He looked in fact to a high and splendid recompense, one which as yet he dared not name, but which the sagacity of his royal mistress, as he flattered himself, would not be reluctant to divine.

' Few could yet be persuaded that the avowed determination of the queen in favor of the single state would prove unalterable; most, therefore, who observed her

averseness to a foreign connection, believed that she was secretly meditating to honor with her hand some subject of her own, who could never have a separate interest from that of his country, and whose gratitude for the splendid distinction, would secure to her his lasting attachment. This idea long served to animate the assiduities of her nobles and courtiers, and two or three, besides Dudley, were bold enough to publish their pretensions. Secret hopes and wishes were cherished in the bosoms of others, and it thus became a fashion to accost her in language, where the passionate homage of the lover was mingled with adulation.'

Tilts and tournaments were still the favorite amusement of all the courts of Europe, and it was in these splendid exhibitions that the rival courtiers of Elizabeth found the happiest occasions of displaying their magnificence, giving proof of their courage and agility; and at the same time insinuating, by a variety of ingenious devices, their hopes and their fears, and profound devotedness to her service. In the purer ages of chivalry no other cognizance on shields were adopted, either in war or in those games which were its image, than the armorial bearings which each warrior had derived from his ancestors, or solemnly received at the hands of the herald, before he entered on his first campaign. But as the spirit of the original institution declined and the French fashion of gallantry began to be engrafted upon it, an innovation had taken place. The adoption of impresses first prevailed in the expedition of Charles Eighth against Naples, 1494, and it was about the beginning of the reign of Henry

Eighth that the English wits first thought of imitating the French and Italians in the invention of these devices. An impress it seems was an emblematical device, assumed at the will of the bearer and illustrated by a suitable motto. Of this nature therefore was the representation of an English archer with the words 'He prevails to whom I adhere,' used by Henry Eighth at his meeting with Charles and Francis.

Elizabeth delighted in these whimsical inventions. Her favorite mottos were 'I see and am silent,' and 'Always the same.' Thus patronised, the use of impresses became general. Scarcely a public character of that age, whether statesman, courtier, scholar, or soldier, was unprovided with some distinction of this nature; and at tournaments in particular, the combatants all vied with each other in the invention of occasional devices, sometimes quaintly, sometimes elegantly, expressive of their situation or sentiments, and for the most part conveying some allusion at once gallant and loyal. The queen was occasionally designated by that of Astræa, whence the following devices:—a man hovering in the air, 'I am born to Astræa'; the zodiac with Virgo rising, 'The maid returns'; and a zodiac with no characters but those of Leo and Virgo, 'With these to friend.' These few are here cited to show the general character of these impresses.

'It would have increased our interest in these very significant impresses, had we been informed who were the respective bearers. The Earl of Arundel might have adopted one of these devices. We have already

seen with what magnificence of homage this nobleman had endeavored to bespeak the favorable sentiments of his youthful sovereign, and if illustrious ancestry, vast possessions, established consequence in the state, and long experience in public affairs might have sufficed to recommend a subject to her choice, none could have advanced fairer pretensions than the representative of the ancient house of Fitzalan.'

On the first of May and the two following days, solemn jousts were held before the queen at Westminster, in which the challengers were the Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Sir Christopher Hatton,—all four deserving of biographical notice.

Sir Henry Lee was one of the finest courtiers, and certainly the most complete knight-errant of his time. He was now in the fortieth year of his age, had travelled, and had seen some military service; but the tilt-yard was ever the scene of his most conspicuous exploits, and those in which he placed his highest glory. He had declared himself the queen's own knight and champion, and having inscribed on his shield the constellation of Ariadne's crown, culminant in her majesty's nativity, bound himself by a solemn vow to appear armed in the tilt-yard on every anniversary of her happy accession till disabled by age. This vow gave origin to the annual exercises of the Knights Tilters, a society consisting of twenty-five of the most gallant and favored of the courtiers of Elizabeth. Sir Henry Lee appears to have devoted his life to these chivalrous pageantries, rather from a quixotical imagination than with any serious views of ambition or interest.

He was a gentleman of ancient family and plentiful fortune. He resigned the championship at the approach of old age with a solemn ceremony.

At an after period, the customary festivities on the anniversary of her majesty's accession, were attended with one of those romantic ceremonies which mark so well the taste of the age and of Elizabeth. This was no other than the formal resignation by that veteran of the tilt-yard, Sir Henry Lee, of the office of queen's champion, so long his glory and delight. The gallant Earl of Cumberland was his destined successor, and the momentous transfer was accomplished after the following fashion. Having first performed their respective parts in the chivalrous exercises of the band of Knights Tilters, Sir Henry and the Earl presented themselves to her majesty at the foot of the gallery where she was seated, surrounded by her ladies and nobles, to view the games. They advanced to slow music, and a concealed performer accompanied the strain, with a very appropriate song, of which the last verse only is here inserted:—

'And when I sadly sit in homely cell,  
I'll teach my swains this carol for a song:  
Blest be the hearts that think my sovereign well,  
Curs'd be the souls that think to do her wrong;  
Goddess, vouchsafe this aged man his right,  
To be your beadsman now, that was your knight.'

During this performance, there arose out of the earth a pavilion of white taffeta, supported on pillars resembling porphyry, and formed to imitate the temple of the vestal virgins. A superb altar was placed within

it, on which were laid some rich gifts for her majesty. Before the gate stood a crowned pillar embraced by an eglantine, to which a votive tablet was attached, inscribed 'to Elizabeth.' The gifts and the tablet being with great reverence delivered to the queen, and the aged knight in the meantime disarmed, he offered up his armor at the foot of the pillar ; then kneeling, presented the Earl of Cumberland to her majesty, praying her to be pleased to accept of him for her knight, and to continue these annual exercises. The proposal being graciously accepted, Sir Henry armed the Earl and mounted him on his horse ; this done he clothed himself in a long velvet gown, and covered his head, in lieu of a helmet, with a buttoned cap of the 'country fashion.' This renowned champion had sustained with dignity the honor he so ardently sought, for a period of about forty years, and had been rewarded by his royal mistress by the lieutenancy of Woodstock manor,—the office of keeper of the armory,—and especially by the appropriate meed of admission into the most noble order of the garter.

'Sir Charles Howard, eldest son of Lord Howard of Effingham, was, at this period of his life, chiefly remarkable for the uncommon beauty of his person, a species of merit never overlooked by her majesty,—for grace and agility in his exercises,—and for the manners of an accomplished courtier. He was, however, brave, courteous, liberal, and diligent in affairs, and the favor of the queen admitted him, in 1585, to succeed his father in the office of lord-high-admiral. His intrepid bearing, in the year 1588, encouraged his sai-

lors to meet the terrible armada with stout hearts and cheerful countenances, and the glory of its defeat was as much his own as the participation of winds and waves would allow. In consideration of this distinguished piece of service, he was created Earl of Nottingham, and, by the partiality of the queen, towards the end of her reign became one of the most considerable persons of her court.'

Essex, in the early days of his favor, assumed the right of treating as interlopers such as advanced too rapidly in the good graces of his sovereign; an incident, which probably occurred about this time, is thus related by Naunton. 'My Lord Montjoy being newly come to court, then Sir Charles Blount, had the good fortune to run one day very well a tilt, and the queen therewith was so well pleased, that she gave him a token of her favor, a queen at chess of gold richly enamelled, which his servants had fastened on his arm with a crimson ribbon; which my Lord of Essex espying, as he passed through the privy chamber with his cloak cast under his arm, the better to commend it to view, inquired what it was and for what cause there fixed. Sir Gelk Greville told him it was the queen's favor: whereat my Lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, as though he would have limited her favor, said, 'Now I perceive every fool must have a favor.' This bitter public affront came to Sir Charles Blount's ear, who sent him a challenge which was accepted by my Lord, and they went near to Marybone park, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh and disarmed. The

queen being told of the affair compelled the rivals to be reconciled.'

On another occasion, when the queen in token of her approbation had presented her glove to one of her champions when he presented himself before the royal arbitress, was so elated with her favor, that he caused the glove to be set in diamonds and affixed to his helmet.

The splendid pageantries encouraged by Elizabeth, which were unquestionably much to her taste, possessed manifold advantages. They fostered in the minds of her people that patriotism and loyalty which enabled the queen to conquer and defy her most powerful enemies, and to undermine all the plots and vile contrivances so incessantly employed for her destruction. Under the influence of this lofty spirit her people became invincible.

No sovereign ever deserved more admiration and regard from their subjects than did Elizabeth, and none ever received more true respect and attention. Her people well knew that she alone preserved them, not only from the tyranny and bloody persecutions to which the revolted Provinces had been so many years subjected, but from the disastrous conflicts which pervaded continental Europe. The protestants relied solely on her for protection, and by her wisdom and virtue England had arisen to a state of unparalleled prosperity. Had the powerful partisans of the queen of Scots prevailed, all that had been so gloriously achieved during the government of Elizabeth would in all probability have been irretrievably lost. Eng-

land, Scotland, and the United Provinces would have all been enslaved, and multitudes would have perished miserably under the intolerant persecutions of the fanatical Philip, to whom Mary had ceded her right, not only to the Scottish throne but to the throne of England, provided the young king her son should refuse to embrace the catholic faith. The Duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries under Philip, ' boasted that during the term of five years he had delivered over to the executioner over eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics.' If to these be added the multitude of brave men who fell in battle, gloriously contending for their civil and religious rights, we cannot wonder, with this spectacle before their eyes, at the determination of the English to escape from the manifold calamities which threatened to overwhelm them.

It is however deeply to be regretted that the safety and welfare of England should have been so much involved in the fate of the queen of Scots, and that any transaction should have tarnished a character so bright and exemplary as that of Elizabeth's. Had she refrained from all interference with Scotland, at the time when Mary by her criminal deeds had aroused the indignation of her people, she would unquestionably have suffered the penalty to which those crimes had subjected her. In this instance however the sympathy of Elizabeth overcame her usual penetration and foresight. But when Mary, encouraged by the kind interference of her kinswoman, sought refuge in her dominions, had Elizabeth with her wonted magnanimity and self-respect suffered her to seek elsewhere an asy-

lum, her glory and her greatness would have suffered no diminution. In truth it may be doubted whether Mary would have had it in her power to have been a greater scourge to Elizabeth, had her liberty been granted, than she exerted during her confinement.

Elizabeth has been much censured for her severity towards Stubbs; but his invectives, against what he termed 'The discovery of the gaping gulf wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French marriage,' was deemed a seditious appeal to the passions and prejudices of the nation, which the queen felt bound to suppress. Her treatment of Sir Philip Sidney evinces her superiority to the vanity and self-conceit of which she has so often been accused. 'Such had ever been the devoted loyalty of Sir Philip, that the queen imputed his interference in this projected marriage, to his sincere desire of saving her from the evils he foreboded, and was thought to be deeply moved by his arguments, albeit some of them were of a character which might be deemed offensive to the vanity and self-complacence of any female, more especially when the lover is approved, as may in this instance be supposed from the encouragement given by Elizabeth to the urgent suit of the Duke of Anjou; for we are not disposed to ascribe her conduct to political management alone, or to what has been termed crooked policy; but it should be had in remembrance, that at an early period it was necessary to preserve a show of amity with those powers she could not openly oppose.'

But, whatsoever may have been said to disparage the character of the English queen, it is an established

fact, that notwithstanding the numberless difficulties she had to encounter, England had arisen to a state of unequalled prosperity during her reign,—great among the nations of the earth. If she exacted obedience, it was for the general good ; and the folly and perversity of seeking for hidden springs of action must be perceived by all who attend to the extraordinary success which crowned all her political movements. These all had a straight-forward direction to promote the prosperity of her people and to protect the protestant religion ; and although by a wise policy she did not openly declare her intentions, and was at times compelled to temporize, these objects were kept steadily in view without any deviation. She generously assisted the protestants in the Low Countries with large sums of money before she openly declared in their favor, and had supported the king of Navarre by her negotiations in Germany, and also by large sums of money which she remitted him, albeit she was very unwilling to burden her people ; whilst her parsimony, as it has been invidiously styled, had it been so in reality, would have prevented her generous interference ; yet herein we find only that attention to economy and care that no part of the revenue should be embezzled or misapplied, which enabled Elizabeth to accomplish so many great objects. Had the world been blessed with sovereigns like queen Elizabeth, its fate would have been changed, and those improvements, whose advance is so tardy, might ere this have been realized.

We have previously noticed that our intention at first was merely to remark that, in our opinion, Mr

Prescott had not done justice to the character of the English queen, by making no allowance for the peculiar circumstances under which she was placed. Yet it afterward occurred to our minds, that, by exhibiting some of the principal events of this celebrated reign, a more correct judgment could be formed of the degree of comparison, which could be substituted between Elizabeth of England and Isabella of Spain. With a view to a better understanding of the estimation in which the former was held by her subjects, we have briefly narrated the enthusiastic attentions paid by them to their royal mistress, during her progresses through her kingdom, and the splendid pageantries exhibited for her entertainment.

This attempt to do justice to the wonderful talents of Elizabeth is, we are aware, somewhat desultory, yet it is hoped that its conciseness will recommend it to some, who might, from a general view, adopt the erroneous opinions too commonly embraced. We are aware of the prejudice which exists in the minds of common thinkers against queen Elizabeth; the male part overlooking her great endowments as a sovereign, because she appeared to them to want those feminine qualities which would have made her an agreeable companion; and the females, as well as the other sex, are annoyed by her intellectual superiority, and they fear to advocate that strength of mind which is deemed to be the peculiar attribute of men; yet, laying aside all these petty objections, should we not generously pass over all that indicates the imperfections which are attached to natures merely human, in

admiration of her great abilities as a sovereign? England assuredly could never boast of one so truly wise, the great Alfred always excepted; nor can any other country lay claim to a sovereign so devoted to the welfare of their subjects. We also, of America, have a right to boast of queen Elizabeth as one of the great examples of human greatness, for we were then all of England.

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WE have asserted that neither at any former period, nor at the present, have the rights of women been anywhere so little respected by the laws or usages, as in this boasted land of freedom. In proof of this position, one may find in "The First Settlers of New-England" a narration of the arbitrary and humiliating restraints to which women are subjected by our code of laws, and the inference relative to the ills which devolve on society at large, from this unwise and partial distribution of justice.

A slight retrospect has also been taken of the customs and manners of the ancient Jews, and some others, in connection with this subject. It may be well to extend our views to a more remote period, as the influence of women can be traced from the beginning of time. It may be here remarked, that as Adam assumed no authority over Eve, and was as easily overcome by temptation, we may assume that the same elements entered into their composition. Nay, the serpent found it necessary to use some arguments to in-

duce our first mother to transgress the divine command;\* but the man could find no other excuse than the simple affirmation:—‘The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.’

Sarah, the wife of the patriarch Abraham, commanded her husband to cast out the bondwoman and her son, ‘for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac;’ and albeit the thing was very grievous in the sight of Abraham, he harkened to the voice of Sarah. Indeed, through the whole transaction, Abraham appears to have been very passive and submissive to his wife in all things; Sarah was however a very important personage, as we find the blessings promised to Abraham all had reference to the seed of Sarah,—as in Isaac alone were all the nations of the earth to be blessed.

Rebecca appears not to have acquired much influence over her husband, and of course was induced to practise a bold stratagem to obtain the blessing for Jacob, which Isaac had determined to bestow on Esau, and thus sacrificed her own and her son’s honor and integrity, in the hope of obtaining a temporal good, and thus sowing perpetual discord between her sons. Artifice is the usual resort of the injured, who have no other way of obtaining redress. Had Isaac and Rebecca been possessed of any true wisdom, they would have united in making their children happy by a manifestation of their parental love. By the indulgence of a weak or vicious partiality and the perpetual desire of power, how much strife and division has been en-

\* Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

gendered from the beginning of time. Had Jacob gained wisdom by his early sufferings, he would not, by falling into a like error, have brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

We may notice in passing, Miriam the prophetess, whose talents and accomplishments gave her much influence among her people. Deborah the prophetess, who judged Israel, and triumphantly and gloriously delivered her people, who had for twenty years been oppressed by the Canaanites. Deborah's song of triumph is full of confidence and enthusiasm. Abigail must have possessed much authority and judgment in granting David a supply so abundant, after Nabal had churlishly refused his courteous request, and by so doing saved her house from the destruction impending. Hulda, who dwelt at Jerusalem in the College, replied, with the conscious dignity of inspiration, to a humble message from the king of Israel,—‘ Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, tell ye the man that sent you to me,’ &c.

Passing over many other instances of a like character in the Old Testament, and turning to the New, we find the blessed Jesus, who in all things gave a pure and beautiful example, treating women with affectionate respect, and thus gaining many friends and proselytes. Paul had many female friends and converts, and frequent notice is taken of devout and honorable women who possessed no inconsiderable authority. It appears that it was common for women to preach or prophecy in the time of the apostles, as Paul exhorts them not to prophecy with their heads uncovered.

Women at this period also held offices in the churches, albeit deaconess is in our Testament translated deacon, doubtless from the futile desire of making it appear that women of the present day owe much to the improved courtesy of the other sex.

Mention is made of females at the Nicean council, who sat as judges on the great question concerning the Trinity. When Paul was cited to appear before Felix the Roman governor, his wife Drusilla was with him; and when Paul was again summoned before Festus, king Agrippa with Berenice sat with them on the judgment seat, attended with much pomp; and, after hearing Paul's defence, they with the principal men went aside to consult on his case.

Before quitting the Old Testament, we should have mentioned that three books in that portion of scripture bear the names of females, whose virtues, heroism, and self-devotion are there recorded. These with many others previously cited, fully attest that they were not subjected to the arbitrary will of any of their fellow mortals,—but were conscious only of responsibility to the most High.

Troy was doubtless in the zenith of her power about the time that the Jews were numbered among the nations. The religious rites and customs common to both Greeks and Trojans, as sung by Homer, point to the same age. Their sacrifices had a common object and strong resemblance. The lamb must be without blemish and the heifer must not have borne the yoke. The cities of Tyre and Sidon must also have flourished in the days of the immortal bard, and were renowned for their skill in the arts. Paris touched at

Tyre on his return to Troy with his Grecian spouse, and also brought thither fair Sidonian maids, accomplished in all works of embroidery. Egypt too at that period must have been renowned both for wealth and hospitality, judging from the reception given to Menelaus and his accomplished queen when they visited that court. Alcandre, consort of king Polybus, who ruled the wealthy tribes of Pharian Thebes, gave to the Spartan queen a golden distaff and a rich vase with living sculptures wrought, as a pledge of her royal grace. Alcandre was consort of the high command of Polybus, who presented his guests with munificent gifts, after having received the royal pair with the greatest kindness. Helen had also learned from the imperial wife of Thone, who swayed the sceptre near prolific Nile, to mix a mirth-inspiring bowl, tempered with drugs of sovereign use, to assuage all care and sorrow, and charm and exalt the mind.

I have given these brief citations to verify the remark previously made, that Homer copied from nature, and was guided by truth, and that, whatever license he may have taken in adopting on particular occasions the figurative style then in use, his veracity cannot be doubted in portraying characters that adorned the age for which he wrote, and narrating events recorded in history.\*

The Egyptian history from the earliest times, it has now been discovered, is as well or better understood by the paintings and engravings found of that enlightened and powerful people, as is the history of modern Europe; and the stupendous works, still exist-

\* *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.*

ing, attest the truth of all that has been heretofore related. Here then we have a decided proof of the veracity of Homer. The confidence had in Greece of the correctness of Homer's geographical knowledge was so entire, that we are assured, when any contest arose in reference to the boundaries of particular states, they were decided by the authority of their revered bard. These facts are important as confuting the accusations of those who would have it believed that the characters and events recorded in the Homeric writings are the mere creations of fancy. The characters portrayed in the royal family of Priam are not excelled by any of later times. The queen mother was kind, intelligent, and full of affectionate solicitude. Cassandra was renowned for prophetic gifts and for purity. Another excelled in beauty, and a third, Polyxena, has been immortalized for her heroism and piety.

The character of Andromache, as exhibited in the parting scene between her and Hector, is touching and beautiful in a high degree; indeed nothing of the kind ever exhibited can compare with this, in our apprehension. Even the guilty Helen awakens our sympathy, by her sorrow and remorse for the ills she has brought on all she most loves and venerates. Her lamentation over the dead body of Hector is truly pathetic and indicative of superior intellect. All Greece would not have risen in arms to avenge the cause of an ordinary woman.

If we turn to the dramatic writers of Greece, we find many exalted and beautiful female characters, albeit in many instances little justice has been done them by modern translators. We should however

have previously noticed some others of the celebrated females belonging to the Homeric period. It has been asserted by Plutarch and some others, that a more beautiful picture of conjugal affection could not be given than that of Penelope, to enhance the beauty of which, may be added her maternal solicitude and true dignity of mind. Arete, the spouse of Alcinous king of Phœacia and partner of the throne, and the princess Nausicaæ their daughter, would not lose by a comparison with the most gifted females of any age, for genuine benevolence and urbanity of manners, as may be seen in the annexed review.

Whatever may have been said of the little respect paid to the Athenian women, and the restraints to which they were subjected, may in part have resulted from the refinements introduced at a late period, when an affectation of delicacy prevented females from appearing in public without a train of attendants. It is certain from the examples cited that no such restraints; or want of confidence were felt in the early state of Athens.

The Spartan women appear to have been on an equality with the other sex, they, in common with the men, were extremely anxious to inculcate a spirit of heroic fortitude to their children. They accompanied the men some way when they went forth to battle, and exhorted their sons to return with their shields or on their shields. When the people returned victorious, they were met by the women with songs of triumph, and they rejoiced over the dead who had gloriously maintained the combat. The women of Israel like-

wise went forth with songs and dances to hail the combatants who returned victorious; and we read of the mortal offence taken by Saul, because in their songs and responses David received higher praise than himself. This ancient custom prevailed likewise among our Aborigines. The beautiful example of filial and conjugal affection, given by the noble daughter of Leonidas and wife of Cleombrotus, commands our highest admiration.

In Greece and other ancient nations, women presided as priestesses in their temples, and delivered oracular responses, and in all their processions in honor of their deities, young girls carried baskets of fruit and flowers as acceptable offerings. The Eleusinean mysteries, or the mysteries of Ceres, the most sacred of all the religious ceremonies of Greece, were celebrated by female priests, or hierophants, whose office was to introduce the uninitiated and explain the exhibitions inculcating a belief in a future life, and in rewards and punishments. There were also priests who were obliged to devote themselves wholly to the service of religion.

Mention is frequently made in Grecian history of females who excelled in poetry, eloquence, and the sciences; for instance, Corinna who taught Pindar the art of composing verses with elegance and simplicity, and five times gained the prize when he was competitor. This, with many other instances of a like character, affords abundant testimony of the respect had for women in Greece; that they occupied some of the most honorable stations; and were accustomed to

contend for prizes, and receive the honorary award of the public.

In Rome women were ever respected, and as wives and mothers exerted great influence. We shall not refer to the many instances recorded in proof of this; let it suffice to say, that the heroes and patriots of Rome must have been nurtured by mothers, whose free and enlightened minds were tinctured deeply with the noble sentiments they so firmly impressed on their children. The honor conferred on the Vestals was greater than was enjoyed by any class or order of men. So great was the deference paid them by the magistrates, as well as by the people, that even the consuls made way for them and bowed their faces when they passed before them. They had the most honorable seat at the public games and festivals, and a lictor with the fasces always preceded them when they walked or rode in public. They had moreover the power of pardoning criminals when led to execution, should they meet them accidentally.

Contrasting the former condition of women with the present, it is somewhat humiliating to find that, in this age of *boasted improvement*, women have no part either in the honors or emoluments of the church, and are not even permitted to be present when any thing, however trivial, is proposed in reference to religion, with the exception of the very respectable sect of Friends.

An acquaintance with the modern history of Rome, must convince all who impartially attend to the facts recorded, that in all their contests for dominion, woman had much influence; and that this influence was in most instances exerted to moderate the sanguinary

conflicts of the men, and to promote concord by wise and benevolent institutions. Nevertheless there were some exceptions; and much cruelty and bitterness resulted from the machinations of unprincipled females, all which evinces their power. It would be useless to detail any particulars, as that portion of history is familiarly known.

Zenobia belongs to this age, who, after the death of her husband Odenatus, reigned in the East as regent of her infant children, who were honored with the title of Cæsars. She assumed the name of Augusta, and appeared in imperial robes and ordered herself to be styled the queen of the East. Aurelian was no sooner invested with the imperial purple, than he marched into the East determined to punish the pride of Zenobia, whom he feared as a rival. He well knew her valor, and he was not ignorant, that in her wars against the Persians she had distinguished herself no less than Odenatus. She was mistress of the East; Egypt acknowledged her power; and all the provinces of Asia Minor were subjected to her command. When Aurelian approached the plains of Syria, the Palmyrean queen appeared at the head of seven hundred thousand men. She bore the labors of the field like the meanest of her soldiers, and walked on foot fearless of danger. Two battles were fought,—the courage of the queen gained the superiority; but an imprudent evolution of the Palmyrean cavalry ruined her cause, and this famous city fell under the dominion of the conquerors of the world.

Zenobia has been admired, not only for her military abilities, but also for her literary talents. She was ac-

quainted with every branch of useful learning, and spoke with fluency the language of the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Latins. She composed an abridgement of the history of the Oriental Nations, and of Egypt, which was greatly commended by the ancients. She received no less honor from the patronage she afforded to the celebrated Longinus, who was one of her favorites, and who taught her the Greek tongue. She has also been praised for her great chastity and constancy. The wisdom and parental care she manifested in all her institutions, endeared Zenobia to her people, although she punished with severity crimes tending to subvert the empire.

The Romans were much indebted to the sovereigns of Palmyra for the assistance they gave them in their wars. Gallienus, grateful for their services, named Odenatus as his colleague on the throne, and gave the title of Augustus to his children, and to his queen, Zenobia.

Semiramis, who should have before been mentioned, no sooner established herself on the throne of Assyria, than she began to repair the capital of her empire; and by her means Babylon became the most superb and magnificent city in the world. She visited every part of her vast dominions, and left every where monuments of her greatness and benevolence. To render the roads passable and communication easy, she hollowed mountains and filled up vallies; and water was conveyed at a great expense by large and magnificent aqueducts, to fertilize barren deserts and unfruitful plains. Semiramis was distinguished for her beauty, and for firmness of mind; nor was she less distinguish-

ed as a warrior, as many of the neighboring nations were subdued by her valor. It is supposed that she lived one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five years before the christian era.

Sappho was born in the isle of Lesbos, about six hundred years before Christ. She was celebrated for her beauty and her poetical talents. She composed nine books in lyric verse, besides epigrams, elegies, &c. Of all these compositions nothing now remains but two fragments, whose uncommon sweetness and elegance show how judiciously the praises of the ancients have been bestowed upon a poetess, who, for the sublimity of her genius, was called the tenth muse. Her compositions were all extant in the age of Horace. The Lesbians were so sensible of the merit of Sappho, that, after her death, they paid her divine honors,—and raised to her temples and altars, and stamped their money with her image.

It appears there were two Sapphos, both of Lesbos ; and, although they have been confounded by Ovid, no doubt can be had but that the odious qualities, which have been ignorantly or maliciously ascribed to the great poetess, belonged to the last ; indeed, she whose passion for the youth Phaon caused her to cast herself into the sea, is decidedly the latter Sappho, and this action is wholly inconsistent with the fame and honors acquired by the other. Alcæus, like Sappho, a lyric poet and a native of the same island, loved her, but his passion was not returned. Sapphic verse, remarkable for its sweetness, has been called after her name.

Pope was doubtless well acquainted with all these circumstances, when he wrote his pretended epistle of

Sappho to Phaon, so dishonorable to the character of that renowned female. We regret that Pope should, on so many occasions, have indulged a jealous and vindictive spirit, so injurious to his fame and genius. It is no excuse that he took Ovid for his guide, he well knew the character of that licentious poet, and with how little scruple he and many others sacrificed truth to gratify their own unholy passions. We might have imagined that the respect and affection Pope manifested for a mother, to whom he owed so much, and whom he has immortalized in one of his finest Essays, would have induced him to treat the sex with more deference and urbanity; yet, in his celebrated Temple of Fame, we find not one niche has been allotted, even to the most distinguished females. The Sapphic muse has indeed been casually mentioned; but no reference has been made either to the character or sex of the inventor of this beautiful measure.

With the same unhallowed license, Virgil has treated the character of Dido or Elissa, the celebrated foundress of Carthage, whom he has not scrupled to defame, and to commit a most palpable anachronism, which proves the falsehood of the whole story, which was fabricated for the sake of giving importance and credibility to his hero. That courageous and magnanimous princess, who had eluded the machinations of a powerful tyrant, and had fled from the place of her nativity with the immense treasures which had induced the tyrant to take the life of a husband whom she tenderly loved, and had founded a city on the African coast, which soon became formidable and made even Rome tremble, Virgil has represented weak and con-

temptible as a love-sick girl, and as casting herself on the funeral pile erected by herself, with ceremonious attention, because she had been deserted by an unprincipled adventurer.\* This trick of robbing women of their just claims has come down even to this *enlightened* period.

An able English writer has noticed in terms of high commendation the first volume of Dr Bowditch's *La Place*; and the *Mechanism of the Heavens*, by the highly gifted female Mrs Sommerville, who, in that extraordinary work, has communicated the results of *La Place*'s discoveries to the English nation in their own language, and has thus repaid the obligation which a century before had been conferred on British science by a celebrated mathematician of France,† who, by her translation of the *Principia* and her commentary upon it, first made known to the French nation in their native language the great discoveries of Newton. The same writer further remarks, that at the period of these publications, there was a very meagre supply of works in our language illustrative of the Celestial Mechanism.

The spotless character of Mrs Sommerville excludes all invidious remarks and affords no ground for censure; but Madame de Chatelet has merited rebuke and punishment, for living as the companion of Voltaire unsanctioned by the ties of wedlock. This conduct assuredly subjects her to reproach; but we apprehend that the lady

\* Had Virgil been guided by the great principle of truth, and evinced more respect and tenderness for woman, he would have approached more nearly his great model.

† Madame de Chatelet.

would unquestionably have been highly gratified had Voltaire been pleased to make her his lawful wife. Why then, we ask, should justice not be impartially administered ? and why should the name of the seducer of Madame de Chatelet obtain so much celebrity, while she is condemned to suffer degradation and have her name consigned to oblivion, except indeed it be admitted that females have greater strength of mind than the other sex ?

True it is that many women, from an innate sense of purity and virtue, have nobly resisted all the allurements which this world could afford. Comparing the past with the present time, we find so much envy, jealousy and competition, even among those whose superior talents might naturally lead them to view with impartiality, and even admiration, those works of genius which exalt the human character, that we might rationally conclude the superior gifts of females would excite the envy of the other sex ; and hence, that many talented females may have been deprived of their just fame by calumny and misrepresentation, or been confounded with some fortunate individuals of similar name, by omitting the feminine appellative. For instance, the Edgeworths and the Sedgwicks are celebrated for having done much to form the hearts and manners of the present generation, and to dispel the corrupt influences of former novelists. In conformity with present impressions, it will not require much ingenuity to cause their invaluable works to pass altogether as the productions of the other sex.

The discoveries of the celebrated Herschel, it is well

known, were aided by his sister, who, by her indefatigable zeal and industry, perfected some discoveries which had eluded his search. Yet the name of this gifted female is altogether, it appears, blended with that of her more favored brother. No memorial will tell it to future ages.

We have noticed only a few prominent literary females of the present day for the purpose of elucidating our subject, albeit there are many highly gifted, of both sexes, whom we delight to honor,—who are too pure to prostitute their pens in eulogizing or paying court to profligate, unprincipled men, however exalted be their rank and condition. These have not bowed the knee to the Baal of power, or prejudice, neither have they feared to vindicate the injured.

It has furnished arguments in favor of the inferiority of females, that, in some countries, men are allowed many wives ; yet to the same humiliating condition are men reduced where this odious custom prevails,—and they in turn must be content to become one, among many husbands, to one wife ; hence they are obliged to practise as many arts, or tricks, to gain favor, as do the ladies of a haram. Michaelis, in his Introduction to the New Testament, says—that among the ancient Jews, where polygamy prevailed, it was not uncommon for a number of brothers to have one wife ; and we ascertain from some translations of Sir William Jones, that this custom prevailed at an early period in India. Lady Montague remarks, that, in Turkey, wives are obtained with so much difficulty by the common people, that not even a pedlar would venture to deny his wife any gratification she demanded, without

the risk of losing her, as she would immediately find another more submissive husband. Hence we find, that a wife enjoyed the same privilege of divorce as a husband. Moreover the Mahometan laws annex some conditions on the husband, who divorces his wife, not easily complied with, unless among those of rank.

We read, both in sacred and profane history, of women who had left their husbands, and married others. The philanthropic Rammohun Roy, in answer to some questions submitted to him by the writer, in reference to the plurality of wives permitted to the Brahmins in India, states—that although the higher classes enjoy the privilege of polygamy by virtue of the laws, —the lower classes in consequence remain, nine out of ten, bachelors till death, not having sufficient pecuniary means to induce any to give them their daughters in marriage.

The unblemished characters of the two authors last cited afford the most ample testimony of the truth of their statements ; the lives of both were spent in the great cause of humanity. The veracity of Lady Montague has been questioned ; but later travellers in Turkey have confirmed her representations.

When the Islands of the Pacific were first discovered, the natives had made some advance in society ; their chiefs had acquired wealth, and of course power, and had assumed the liberty of taking more than one wife ; but, as a counterpoise, the females of rank had the privilege of taking more than one husband.

In the state of primitive simplicity which prevailed, on the first discovery of this country, among the Aborigines, every man had one wife, in conformity with

the law of nature, as an equal number of both sexes come into the world. Where so much equality prevailed, no man would yield this natural right to his equal, or to his chief, who was but little elevated above him. Accordingly we find, by the testimony of Rev. Roger Williams, who resided many years, in perfect amity, among the Narragansetts, that they had but one wife. Philip's wife is noted, who, with her son, was made prisoner by the first settlers of New-England ; and we learn, that this native hero never smiled more, after this sad catastrophe. We hear also of the wife of the Pequod chief or king, who, when made prisoner, demanded to be treated with honor, thus evincing the dignity of her station, and the purity of her mind. Indeed the state of our Aborigines at this period exhibits a most interesting picture of primitive hospitality, urbanity, and lofty virtues, which we delight to contemplate as the gifts of God to man, although, by many inventions, he has marred the work of his Creator.

We regard with pain and indignation the sad reverse of this picture, and the degradation and ruin brought on the Indians by the vices and cruelty of the whites.

A most disgusting narrative has of late been given of the profligacy of our natives, and the excess to which polygamy is carried by their chiefs,—who not only treat with the utmost indignity their wives when they fancy another, but even strip them of all their best dresses to decorate the new favorite. Nevertheless, with all this meanness, and destitution of principle and sympathy, the writer celebrates these men as brave,

generous, given to hospitality, &c. ; and there are too many who, disregarding these incongruities, affect to believe this statement just, and equally applicable to the Indians in every period of time. Catlin states, that the discarded wives are made to prepare skins, that the chiefs may be enabled to exchange these commodities with the traders for whiskey. Now, no temptation of this sort could exist previous to the arrival of the whites ; and as a wife, by the laws of the Indians, can quit a husband whenever she please, there is no probability that she would consent to become his slave, and who could moreover appropriate the profits of her labor to her own use.

We should be extremely cautious in receiving accounts from late writers, who have only seen the Indians in the degraded condition to which they have been reduced by our vices, by our ceaseless hostilities, and merciless warfare. Thus we have destroyed millions of these unfortunate beings, and desolated whole regions ; and, among the few remnants which yet exist, the males are greatly exceeded by the females, thus reversing the order of nature and producing great disorders.

Yet, from the observations of Charlevoix and other intelligent, unbiased authors, who visited this country at an early period, we learn, that 'the Indians were perhaps the only happy mortals on the face of the earth, before they were acquainted with those objects which pervert and seduce us.'

I shall not here repeat the observations of Charlevoix, many of which are detailed in 'The Aborigi-

ties of North America ;' but shall only observe, that they accord well with those who, before and since his time, have written on this subject in the spirit of truth and impartiality. It is agreed on all sides that the Indians treated each other with gentleness and respect, and received the whites with great cordiality and hospitality. Even Hubbard, who exults so greatly in the destruction of the Indians, says expressly, that the pilgrims were induced to settle on this coast by the kindness and urbanity of the natives, who were so disinterested that they would deny themselves any good for the sake of assisting others.

The result of the observations we have collected proves the natives of this country to have been a high-minded, noble race of men, susceptible of friendship in its most perfect form, excelling in eloquence and strength of mind.

That the women had great influence, and, among some nations, had the chief authority, is evident. Different customs prevailed in different tribes ; but we have abundant proof that, in all, women had a voice in the public deliberations, and their consent was deemed essential in the ratification of treaties. Notwithstanding all these corroborating testimonies, it is still contended with great pertinacity, that the Indians are a degraded race, and that their women are mere slaves, and are compelled to raise corn and other vegetables for the family ; yet their task within their dwellings is light, when compared with the labors of women in the common classes among us. \* \* The old men

\* Heckewelder's Narrative.

and boys assist the women in their work, and the young men, when not engaged in hunting, labor to recommend themselves to her whom they love, and to find opportunity of communicating their secret wishes to the object of their affections. Moreover, the men encounter much greater hardships in hunting, than any which fall to the share of the women. "The life of Joseph Brant, Thayendanegia, by William L. Stone, is allowed to have been prepared with great fidelity and good judgment." This work supplies an important vacuum in American history. That noble and ill-fated race, to which Brant belonged, is fast wasting away, and ere long but few traces of them will remain. The individual therefore, who toils in gathering up and moulding into a durable form these interesting memorials, may be esteemed a public benefactor.'

In this work, so highly commended, and lately published, the same character of Indian manners and sentiments are exhibited, as have been cited from earlier writers, and, notwithstanding all they have suffered, some noble examples have of late been given of the patriotism and self-devotion of this ill-fated race, which demand admiration and respect. The six Osage chiefs, we are told, resigned themselves with more than Roman firmness into the hands of our government, to be tried for their lives, in consequence of the death of five Americans, who were slain, on the supposition of their belonging to a tribe with whom the Osages were at war; nevertheless, as no other alternative presented to save their country from a ruinous war, these chiefs voluntarily yielded themselves to be tried for the offence. This interesting account, and

the manner in which the surrender was made, was given in a letter from Mr Vail, a missionary, who witnessed the scene.

Another instance of moral courage and true greatness of soul is related of a Winnebago chief, who delivered himself up to our government in the summer, not long after the treaty of Prairie du Chien, and died in prison the following February. The death of this chief was announced in a paper from which this account is taken. ' Died in prison, at Prairie du Chien, Wanny-sooth-kaw, or the Red Bird, a Winnebago chief of note. His free wilderness spirit could not bear the confinement of a narrow prison house, nor could his body be supported by the provisions usually dealt out on such occasions. He was an extraordinary man. - In form and appearance he had few equals, white or red ; and in the graces of action, of face, and of spirit, he was not surpassed. He was delivered over by Major Whistler, to whom he gave himself up, to General Atkinson, who conveyed him and others to Prairie du Chien, there to await the penalties of the law. Had General Atkinson been capable of estimating the lofty qualities of his victim, he could not have subjected him to the rigid rules and discipline of a prison. How could he suspect one that had so nobly surrendered himself to save his country ?

' The character of this extraordinary chief, during his whole life, and up to the period of his bloody adventure, had been marked by all that was kind, and friendly, and faithful. But, it was said, all his distinction was swallowed up and lost in one fell resolve—one act of guilt. But he rose, if not to innocence and life,

yet high in general admiration and sympathy, in the voluntary surrender of himself, and in the manner of the act. No individual act was ever more imposing than that act of self-devotion. His white dress of beautiful deer-skin, fitting his elegantly proportioned frame, as if to show the beauty and perfection of his finish. His war-pipe made fast to his breast, as if to indicate the attachment of his heart to the Indian's glory ; his white flag, the emblem of peace, in one hand, and his calumet, or pipe of peace, in the other ; and then the long line of one hundred and fourteen unarmed warriors, attending this self-devoted victim ; and to crown all, his death-song. All this was highly impressive ; but it was overmatched by the calm though commanding spirit that gave grace and firmness to his steps, life to his eye, majesty to every movement of the man, and grandeur to the ceremony. As he entered the portal of death, stepping firmly up, he said, by a manner as forcible as language, " I give away myself —my life." There is nothing more dreaded by the Indian than our protracted forms of law ; confinement in a prison is to them only a lingering death, far more terrible than even the tortures to which they sometimes subject their chiefs of high rank, who appear regardless of their sufferings when they are enabled to defy their foes and dwell with exultation on their deeds of glory. Their sufferings last but a few hours, and they thus testify the triumph of the soul over bodily pain.

Although the crime, for which this wonderful man suffered, was not specified in the paper from which we have extracted the above account, we have met with an article in the *Quarterly Review*, which explains the

cause. The writer, after commenting on the manner in which our treaties are carried on, where every artifice is used to engage the assent of the chiefs to part with their lands, says:—‘In the boasted treaty at Prairie du Chien, 1825, the Winnebagoes among others had received the most solemn assurances, that the boundaries, then established, would on the part of the United States be carefully respected; that neither whites nor Indians would be suffered to hunt or settle on these lands, acknowledged to belong to them, between the Ouisconsin and Rock rivers; yet, almost immediately on returning to their villages, they found the finest portions of their land overrun with white men searching for lead mines. Need we wonder then that the Winnebagoes, exasperated by repeated insults, and palpable violation of the treaty, should have reminded us, by the murder of an entire family of these intruders, that professions of friendship and protection did not compensate them for the evils they were compelled to suffer?’

Yet it appears, from the closing remarks of this writer, that the self-immolation of the devoted chief did not preserve his people from the ravages of war:—‘We speak not of the alarm and distress, the starvation and despair introduced into their villages. These are less serious evils than the loss of the amplest and best part of their territory between the Ouisconsin and Rock rivers; which, it is understood, the agents of the government in that quarter have been directed to seize and hold, apparently as a kind of memento to the Indians, that they may henceforth beware of exciting the impatience of a power so abundantly able to crush

them. The result is easily foreseen ; their valuable lands and rich lead mines will invite the enterprise of our restless western population, and the miserable remnant of the Winnebagoes will be compelled to seek westward of the Mississippi, amid hostile bands and in a desolate region, a precarious subsistence.'

This most interesting detail has been as much condensed as possible ; albeit, as the whole transaction was a counterpart to so many outrages the Indians were doomed to sustain, previous to the inhuman measures which forced the whole body of the Cherokees into exile, it is well to remind our citizens of what has been called Indian outrage, with a view to excuse or palliate our own usurpations and barbarities. 'It is painful to perceive how easily we have been moved to hostility by the lust of conquest, and how merciless and exterminating has been our warfare.'—Neither would we willingly omit to exhibit the truly extraordinary character of the Winnebago chieftain, which, in our estimation, has no parallel.

This distinctive nobleness of soul is not confined to the male sex ; women have appeared among our Aborigines of nature's sterling coinage. Pocahontas was but the prototype of others, who, by their disinterested generosity and romantic heroism, perilled their own lives to save even their foes. The constancy and strength of affection, which characterize our native females, has furnished a theme for eulogy even in these days of degeneracy.

Their presiding care is found also in the common walks of life. We learn from Schoolcraft's Travels, that, when the men determine upon a carouse, the

women with studious care remove all their hostile weapons ; thus to prevent any outrage which might be committed in the heat of intoxication. Another instance has of late been noticed of that intuitive though unobtrusive vigilance peculiar to females ; that when the husband, overcome with inebriating draughts, urged upon him by traders and others, with a view to obtain a title to the little portion of land the Indian had been allowed to retain,—the women, conscious of what is passing, will watch by her husband, to prevent, if possible, the intended fraud, and to guard him from being deprived of his blanket, &c.

It is well, that, comparatively, so few females allow themselves to commit vices, but too common among the other sex ; and hence the care and example of mothers often preserves their families from ruin, when the father becomes abandoned. This would oftener occur had women the means of supporting their families. Yet so jealous are our lawmakers of their prerogative, that no provision is made to restrain men from spending all their property in criminal excesses, by securing, at least, some portion to the wife for maintaining the children ; hence women are often discouraged, and, having no power to provide for them after making the most strenuous exertions, contend no longer with their fate, and too often seek to forget their sorrows by becoming partakers of the guilt of their husbands, and whole families are thus abandoned and dispersed.

Indian laws are more favorable to females, whose husbands have no control over the property of their wives ; and of course they have often the power to

indulge those maternal propensities so interwoven with their hearts.

Stone, in his Life of Brant, relates that the female inhabitants of a settlement in Canada met in council, and petitioned the government, in forcible language, not to allow any spirituous liquors to pass into their towns, in consequence of the calamities to which they were subjected by intemperance and all its concomitant evils. The native delicacy of these women forbade them in direct terms to complain of their husbands; yet it is well known that the men, exasperated by wrong and insults, seize with avidity the temporary relief afforded by inebriation, whilst the magnanimity and passive endurance of women, in most instances, enable them to persevere in the duties which devolve on them as wives and mothers.\*

Women indeed, among our Aborigines, appear to have been endowed with a high sense of their equality; and of course their responsibility and their eligibility to the highest offices would inculcate this self-respect. Many queens were found on the first discovery of this country who exercised regal sway; and although their laws of succession cannot now be traced, it appears that women did not succeed on the failure of male-heirs only. Four queens are mentioned by the first

\* Heckewelder states that although he spent so many years among the Indians, he never knew but two instances of suicide. One was a man whose wife had determined to leave him, and the other an Indian who was disappointed in love.

*Heckewelder's Narrative.*

settlers of New-England; two of these sovereigns had sons who were chiefs, subjected to the authority of the queen mother.

Wetemoa, queen of Pocasset, joined her kinsman Philip, and fell bravely defending his cause. When a party of the English were on their march to assail the Narraganset fortress, where the aged with the women and children had taken refuge to avoid the merciless fury of their enemies, Hubbard says they waded through ice and snow about fifteen miles through the territories of the old queen of Narraganset. Although we hear but little of this queen, who had doubtless retired from the active scenes of government, yet it was deemed essential to have her signature to treaties.

Charlevoix says, 'the women have the chief authority among all the nations of the Huron language, if we except the Iroquois canton, Onnegouth, in which it is both sexes alternately. I have been assured that the women always deliberate first on whatever is proposed in council, and they always give the result of their deliberations to the chiefs, who make the report of it to the general council composed of the elders. The laws of our natives are consonant with those of the Sandwich Islanders, where great equality prevails, and although we have little information here as with our own natives, queens are frequently mentioned. The young queen, who appears at present to exercise the highest authority, has a brother near the same age with herself. The hospitality, urbanity, and good faith, which characterise the natives of these salubrious and fruitful isles, confirm the belief in the pristine purity of

mankind, although they had deviated in some measure from the state in which they were first placed, and were not so highly endowed as our natives.'

The Rev. R. Williams writes,—'the Indians have none of the disgusting vices common to Europeans; they have no poor among them, and orphans are taken care of by their nearest relations.' Charlevoix confirms this statement:—' The care of orphans, widows, and infirm persons, and the hospitality which they exercise, is admirable. Nothing can exceed the care which mothers take of their children when in the cradle,' &c.

Late instances have exhibited in some of our native chieftains, that inherent greatness and constancy of mind which is peculiarly their own. Osceola, who so bravely defended the harassed and greatly injured Seminoles, and who was so basely betrayed by the dastardly commander of the American troops, evinced all these generous and heroic qualities which claim our admiration, respect, and sympathy. Nor should we omit to notice the character of John Ross, whose lofty spirit has remained unshaken amid wrongs, insults, and privations, and has done all that man could do to mitigate the sufferings and outrages heaped on the Cherokees; and after having with them abandoned their beautiful and beloved country, for the sterile regions of the West, is now defrauded by the government of the stipulated provisions which can alone make tolerable their dreary abode.

The treatment Ross and his devoted people have received from our men in power surpasses all descrip-

tion, and we can only refer to the memorial of a delegation of the Cherokees to Congress, the last session, for information on this truly disgraceful and inhuman transaction. In this memorial mention is made of their extreme hardships, and the cruel sufferings which caused the death of thousands, by their forced removal and their utter destitution of every comfort. 'Our arms (say they) and implements of agriculture, which were taken from us, have never been restored as promised; we cannot supply ourselves with game, and now those who have survived are in the West. We have given up all. What has been done by the United States? Nothing. Notwithstanding these things, have we yet acted towards the United States otherwise than with the meekest spirit of endurance? No one can say we ever did. We implore the great Republic to remember this in our favor; and we will then echo in its praise the benison of the Savior God himself,—"Blessed are the peace makers."

The almost unheard-of barbarities inflicted on the Cherokees will scarcely be credited. Their lands, houses, and cattle, were sold in their presence to the highest bidder, or at what they pleased to give; whilst their owners were compelled to subsist on such fare as the contractors were pleased to allow. When we reflect on the sufferings of the sick, the infirm, the aged, and the children, it appears impossible that a transaction so base and cruel could have taken place in a civilized land.

The Cherokees in particular have, like all the other tribes, been subjected to the harassing interference of

our military commanders on the frontiers ; and it appears that Gen. Arbuckle, with a mischievous pertinacity, espoused the cause of those half-blooded Indians who had traitorously sold their country, and who are now the vile panders of the President\* and his satellites, and are employed to thwart all the efforts of their people to form themselves into a regular government, or to be in any way or degree remunerated for their losses. These parasites have not the sagacity to perceive that the only favor they can expect in future, is to be the last whom the Cyclops will devour.

In conformity with the ancient laws of the Indians, a traitor was doomed to instant death, as soon as found. In accordance with this law Boudinot and the Ridge were slain by their people, whose indignation could not be repressed by the moderate party. These traitors, emboldened by the support of the military, persisted in intruding themselves, although repeatedly warned of their danger. They armed and threatened death to Ross and his party, who were laboring to unite the Cherokees by establishing a new constitution, and thereby securing, if possible, some respite from the anarchy and disorders which had sprung up by the artifices and violence of their oppressors.

Nevertheless the president insisted that Ross should

\* We greatly rejoice that our country is now freed from the tyranny of unprincipled men, and trust that in future the honor and faith of the government will be redeemed, and the Indians will receive all the recompense now in their power to bestow.

be excluded from the delegation unless the murderers should be given up, and it was implied that this chief was the principal instigator; nor was any attention given to the repeated demands of Ross and the entire delegation, that 'the names of his accusers should be given him, and the evidence upon which his name had been associated with acts, of which at the time he was entirely ignorant, and of the guilt connected with which he was entirely innocent.' In confirmation of the truth of this asseveration, the memorialists say 'that they cannot but acknowledge how deeply they feel themselves and their country aggrieved by the course pursued in relation to their embassy, and they think it due to their principal chief to declare that they solemnly pledge themselves for John Ross, and John Ross also solemnly in his own name avers that he had no agency, direct or indirect, in the death of the three persons, whose fall is assigned as the reason for keeping the Cherokee nation in suspense and penury, and, with equal emphasis, your memorialists pronounce the charge of John Ross having endeavored to excite hostile feelings against the United States among other tribes, an impudent falsehood.'

We are convinced that the Hon. Secretary of War can have no personal spite to satiate in this matter; that seems utterly impossible; therefore we should have been entirely at a loss to account for his procedure, had we not discovered in the past an index to influences by which his opinions have been warped.

*'The Rev Mr Schumerhorn, when announcing his communication of the fatal fraud which has caused all*

our afflictions, exults to the late Executive, that after this the power of John Ross is prostrate—the power of the nation is taken from him; as if it were a darling point of policy with certain confidants of those intrusted with the management of Indian affairs, to crush our principal chief, no matter by what means.'

It is impossible to enumerate the harassing and detestable contrivances of those to whom are intrusted the management of Indian affairs, to reduce them to utter ruin, by withholding the stipulated supplies and refusing to recognize their principal chief, or their claims as a people. We have detailed as briefly as possible some of the principal transactions of the President with the Indians, in the hope of exciting some attention to the subject, and prevent, if possible, their utter extinction.

We have heretofore detailed some of the interesting traits peculiar to our Aborigines with the like intent. Charlevoix says, 'at first view one would imagine them without any form of government; they notwithstanding enjoy all the advantages which the best regulated is capable of procuring. They have a natural repugnance to restraint; but reason alone is capable of restraining them in a kind of subordination, not less effectual for being entirely voluntary.'

This remark is confirmed and illustrated by a late writer on the North American Indians, in the North American Review, for January 1826. 'We say the Indians have no government, and yet their lives and property are protected, and their political relations among themselves and with ether tribes are duly pre-

served. Why does an Indian who has been guilty of murder, tranquilly fold his blanket about his head, and seating himself on the ground await the retributive stroke from the relation of the deceased?' The writer then proceeds to describe an instance of this kind which he had witnessed, attended with some circumstances which rendered the submission of the Indian to their laws truly interesting.

We cannot wonder that, with impressions so strong and vivid of natural justice, the Indians should complain. 'The existing relations (say the memorialists) between us and the United States are so ambiguous, and capable of such opposite constructions, that even an obligation, which is assumed to preserve peace and to prevent intestine commotions, is at this very moment so exercised as to create the very evils it professes to remedy, and to defeat the very principle of recognizing the power of the majority. We ask that these ambiguities may be cleared away. Your memorialists most humbly represent, that, if some mode of settling the concerns of the Cherokees with the United States be not presently adopted, their people will be reduced to ruin and despair.'

The interference of Gen. Arbuckle, who appears to have been one of the parasites of the president, 'dressed in a little brief authority,' was exceedingly vexatious. 'Although no hostile feeling existed among the great body of the nation, (say the memorialists,) yet scarcely a day passed without some express from fort Gibson, conveying ridiculous alarms about threats of murder, and prospects of civil wars, and conspiracies

against the frontier. In every instance our authorities insisted on sifting these stories, and they did so in concert with the United States officers; but in every instance the stories fled before them, and at length, like the will-o'-the-wisp, vanished—none knew whither. A covenant to attack fort Illinois turned out to be a temperance pledge, and a gathering to massacre the neighboring counties proved to be a meeting of our police to drive out the whiskey barrels which had been smuggled from the United States.' These, and other petty contrivances, evince the desire to embroil the Cherokees with our government.

The enmity of the government party toward John Ross is naturally accounted for. This truly great man steadily refused every overture made by these hirelings for the cession of the land belonging to the Cherokees, although in so doing he was subjected to the vilest treatment. All efforts were however rendered useless by the stratagems resorted to, and the people compelled by military force to abandon their native cultivated country for the wilderness of the west.

The memorial of the delegation of the Cherokee nation to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, respectfully shows and represents 'That the present position of the Cherokee nation, and the events which have taken place since its cause was humbly submitted two years ago to Congress, are of a character to call for deep and immediate attention. Your memorialists have no desire, at this juncture, to dwell on the harrowing causes of the removal of the

great mass of their people from their native country to the wilderness of the West. The history of that capture is notorious ; and that its agonies were mitigated is owing to the considerateness of the stronger, in not demanding of an entire people to say that they had acknowledged what it was known they had disavowed, and to the permission humanely accorded to their leading men of personally supervising their compelled removal.' The sufferings endured by the Cherokees have been described in part, and although mitigated by the intercession of some of their chief men, yet their sufferings were manifold.

The talents, the heroic fortitude, and patriotism of John Ross are well known, and this renders him both feared and hated by the insidious foes of the Cherokees, for they know well that so long as he retains his power his people will not be entirely crushed. His compatriots were truly sensible of this, when they refused the invitation of the Secretary of War to receive the delegation without their principal chief.

In answer to the Secretary's proposal they say,—' As no investigation has been instituted, and ignorant as we are of any circumstance that can fix upon Mr Ross any participation in the acts of which he is thus impliedly accused, it appears to us that, independently of other reasons for our course, it might appear that we lent our sanction to the charge, if we were, under existing circumstances, to accept the invitation you have been pleased to offer, of waiting upon you to-day to the exclusion of Mr Ross, one of the constituent members of the delegation.'

Many other of our native heroes might here be portrayed ; but as some have been more minutely described in "Conversations on the Aborigines," and in "The First Settlers of New-England," we shall only now remark that, by tracing the manners and customs of a primitive people, we can ascertain the true position of women in society, and the inestimable gifts bestowed on the human race by their beneficent Creator. That our Aborigines are brave and generous, none it is presumed will deny, and these qualities would unquestionably lead them to treat with respect and tenderness the weaker sex. Many instances might be given of impressions thus evinced. One only will here be noticed, as attesting their strong convictions of justice and humanity, namely, their inviolable respect for the chastity of women.

When Fingal lived and Ossian sung, women were treated with a degree of respect, delicacy and kindness worthy of the brightest eras ; and that Fingal lived and Ossian sung must be apparent to every one who impartially investigates the subject with sufficient intelligence. To delineate characters and objects in all their native loveliness and sublimity the author must have witnessed the scenes described. The pathos, tenderness and heroism, so well delineated by Ossian, distinguished him above all other poets. Had Macpherson been the real author, he would have been immortalized ; as our most talented poets cannot even imitate with success these wonderful productions. We will cite only a few passages to confirm the position we have insisted on.

When Fingal resigns the spear of Trenmor to Ossian, he says, 'Ossian, take thou thy father's spear; lift it in battle when the proud arise. My fathers, Ossian, trace my steps,—my deeds are pleasant to their eyes; wherever I come forth to battle, on my field are their columns of mist. But mine arm rescued the feeble; the haughty found my rage was fire; never over the fallen did mine eye rejoice: for this my fathers shall meet me at the gates of their airy halls, tall with robes of light, with mildly kindled eyes. But, to the proud in arms, they are darkened moons in heaven, which send the fire of night red wandering over their face.'

Berrathon, the last of the poems of Ossian, opens with an elegy on Malvina, who had been affianced to Oscar, the son of Ossian; but after the death of her lover, Malvina had devoted her attention to the aged bard, who calls on his attendant 'to lead the aged to his woods—the winds begin to rise; the dark wave of the lake resounds. Bring me the harp, son of Alpin; another song shall rise; my soul shall depart in the sound. Malvina, where art thou with thy songs—with the soft sound of thy steps? Son of Alpin, art thou near? where is the daughter of Toscar? I passed a son of Fingal by Tor-lutha's mossy walls; the smoke of the hall was ceased; silence was among the trees of the hill; the voice of the chase was over; I saw the daughters of the bow; I asked about Malvina, but they answered not; they turned their faces away; thin darkness covered their beauty; they were like stars on a rainy hill by night, each looking faintly through the mist.'

Ossian's lamentation over Malvina, and her apotheosis or ascent to the habitation of heroes, is extremely touching. ' Pleasant be thy rest, O lovely beam ! soon hast thou set on our hills ! The steps of thy departure were stately, like the moon on the blue trembling wave. But thou hast left us in darkness, first of the maids of Lutha ! We sit at the rock, and there is no voice ; no light but the meteor of fire ! Soon hast thou set, O Malvina, daughter of generous Toscar ! But thou risest like the beam of the east among the spirits of thy friends, where they sit in their stormy halls, the chambers of the thunder ! A cloud hovers over Cona ; its blue curling sides are high ; the winds are beneath it with their wings ; within it is the dwelling of Fingal. There the hero sits in darkness ; his airy spear in his hand ; his shield half covered with clouds ; his friends sit around the king on mist ; they hear the songs of Ullin ; he strikes the half viewless harp ; he raises the feeble voice ; the lesser heroes with a thousand meteors light the airy hall. Malvina rises in the midst ; a blush is on her cheek ; she beholds the unknown faces of her fathers ; she turns aside her humid eyes. Art thou come so soon, said Fingal, daughter of generous Toscar ? Sadness dwells in the halls of Lutha. My aged son is sad ! I hear the breeze of Cona, that was wont to lift thy heavy locks. It comes to the hall, but thou art not there ; its voice is mournful among the arms of thy fathers. Go with thy rustling wings, O breeze, sigh on Malvina's tomb ; it rises yonder beneath the rock, at the blue stream of Lutha. The maids are departed to their place ; thou alone, O breeze, mournest there !'

In this, the last of the songs of Ossian, 'every thing is full of that invisible world, into which the aged bard believes himself now ready to enter. He sees the cloud that shall receive his ghost ; he beholds the mist that shall form his robe when he appears on his hill—strike the harp and raise the song ; be near with all your wings, ye winds ! bear the mournful sound away to Fingal's airy hall ; bear it to Fingal's hall, that he may hear the voice of his son ; the voice of him that praised the mighty. There is a murmur in the heath ; the stormy winds abate ; I hear the voice of Fingal ; long has it been absent from mine ear ! Come, Ossian, come away, he says ; Fingal has received his fame. We passed away like flames that had shone for a season ; our departure was in renown. The voice of Ossian has been heard ; the harp has been strung in Selma. Come, Ossian, come away, he says ; come, fly with thy fathers on clouds. I come, I come, thou king of men ! The life of Ossian fails ; I begin to vanish on Cona ; my steps are not seen in Selma ; beside the stone of Mona I shall fall asleep ; the winds whistling in my grey hair shall not awaken me. Depart on thy wings, O wind ! thou canst not disturb the rest of the bard.

In a most moving lamentation, addressed to her beloved Oscar, which should have been previously cited, 'Malvina sings her own death-song. She has heard a voice in a dream ; she feels the fluttering of her soul. It was the voice of my love ! Seldom comes he to my dreams ! But thou dwellest in the soul of Malvina, son of mighty Ossian ! My sighs arise with the beam of the east ; my tears descend with the drops

of night. I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches round me ; but thy death came like a blast from the desert, and laid my green head low. The spring returned with its showers, and no leaf of mine arose ! The virgins saw me silent in the hall, they touched the harp of joy. The tear was on the cheek of Malvina ; the virgins beheld me in my grief. Why art thou sad ? they said, thou first of the maids of Zutha ! was he lovely as the beam of the morning, and stately in thy sight ?

We have selected, from the many beauties which abound in Ossian, only a small portion which relates to the principal personages, in order to convey a general idea of the manners and sentiments which prevail throughout these noble poems. The moral grandeur and tenderness developed in Ossian's characters are in perfect keeping with the heroic generosity and integrity, which pervade these extraordinary productions. In the devoted attentions of the young and lovely Malvina to the father of her lost lover, and in the depth and fulness of Ossian's affection and confidence, we recognise that state of primitive simplicity and purity, for which the human race were formed, and to which we trust they will return.

The heroes of Ossian possessed, in an eminent degree, that heroism and romantic generosity which, in the ages of chivalry, so long enchanted Europe ; exempted from those unnatural refinements and artificial manners, which distinguished the knights of the feudal ages. Throughout these poems 'there is a strain of tender melancholy, which seems to have been the delight of Ossian and his bards. His poetry may be

styled the poetry of the heart, a heart penetrated with noble sentiments.'

We shall conclude what we have to say on this subject by referring to that love of justice, on which only can be based true generosity. No advantage was taken, in this age of real heroism, of the physical weakness natural to females, for we find that, on a demand for a divorce, the herd were divided. 'Dugala was the spouse of Cairbar, chief of the plains of Ullin. She was covered with the light of beauty; but her heart was the house of pride. She loved that sunbeam of youth, the son of noble Damman. Cairbar, said the white-armed Dugala, give me half of the herd. No more will I remain in your halls. Divide the herd, dark Cairbar! Let Cathullin, said Cairbar, divide my herd on the hill. His breast is the seat of justice. Depart, thou light of beauty! I went and divided the herd; one snow-white bull remained; I gave that bull to Cairbar. The wrath of Dugala rose.'

It appears that among the ancient Germans, who are believed to be of Celtic origin, great equality prevailed. Tacitus relates, in his treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans, that the Romans, having beaten the Germans, and caused them to retreat, the flying army were intercepted by their women, who, by their courage and conduct, rallied the men, and, being thus incited, gained the victory over the Roman legions.

The injustice of our laws, and the arbitrary restrictions which deprive married females of all power over property, and of course render them dependent; and the provisions in reference to wills, divorce, &c. were

unquestionably derived from the feudal despotism, which had its rise in the dark ages. We have lost that primitive sense of justice, inherent in the human breast, and have not yet arrived at that state of enlightened civilization, which enforces the conviction on the mind, that 'true self love and social are the same.' A celebrated writer on law, after enumerating the many restrictions to which women are subjected, observes, that from the many provisions made by our laws in regard to females, one would conclude that the men were in perpetual fear of their lives.

That woman retains so much power, albeit so many barriers are interposed, is conclusive evidence that she was not formed to be the slavish thing which it is attempted to make her. That man was not formed for the exercise of uncontrolled power is made manifest by the ill use made of it; and nothing has a more disastrous effect on society than the enforcement of servile submission to arbitrary sway. This is more especially to be feared, as none are so prone to insist on unqualified obedience, as little-minded, unprincipled men; to whom women, however superior, are most frequently compelled to submit, even to the commission of the most dreadful and unnatural crimes. It should also be had in remembrance, that females have no means of procuring an independent subsistence, except by the most humble employments, and that although married females are placed in most important and responsible stations, which demand the greatest exertions, they have no legal claim to even as much property as will insure a degree of independence essential to their convenience or respectability.

This state of things is especially to be regretted, as on women depend the early education of youth, and they are frequently prevented from performing the high trust assigned them, and implanting in the breasts of their children the love of the good and the beautiful, by a mercenary or churlish father, who, by sarcastic or ignorant remarks, leads the child even to disregard the precepts of their mother, as chimerical or ridiculous notions, which will neither feed nor clothe them. To such remarks they more willingly incline, from perceiving the dependent state of the mother ; who, moreover, has it not in her power to give them all the advantages she desires, and is in consequence often induced to condescend to practise duplicity, and even artifice, to accomplish her purposes, however reasonable ; and success thus obtained, often induces her to exceed the bounds of moderation. The example thus given operates most injuriously on the future conduct of children.

This important subject we have previously dwelt on ; but the eloquent and impressive address of the highly gifted Mr Webster to the ladies of Richmond is so much in point, and expresses so admirably our own sentiments, that we here give a short extract from that address, in the expectation that this subject will engage more attention than it has hitherto found. Nevertheless we truly regret that this admired orator has omitted to demand for those, on whom duties so important devolve, that independence which will alone insure success to their unwearied exertions. This omission savors much of the tasks imposed on the Israelites, to make bricks without straw. " It is by the

promulgation of sound morals in the community," says Mr Webster, " and more especially by the training and instruction of the young, that woman performs her part towards the preservation of a free government. It is now generally admitted that public liberty, the perpetuity of a free constitution, rests on the virtue and intelligence of the community which enjoys it. How is that virtue to be inspired ? and how is that intelligence to be communicated ? Bonaparte once asked madame de Stael in what manner he could most promote the happiness of France. Her reply is full of political wisdom. She said 'instruct the mothers of the French people.' Because the mothers are the affectionate and the effective teachers of the human race. The mother begins the process of training, with the infant in her arms. It is she who directs, so to speak, its first mental and spiritual pulsations. She conducts it along the impressible years of childhood and of youth, and hopes to deliver it to the rough scenes of life, armed by those principles which her child has first received from maternal care and love. If we draw within the circle of our contemplation the mothers of a civilized nation, what do we see ? we behold so many artificers working, not on frail and perishable matter, but on the immortal mind, moulding and fashioning beings who are to exist forever. We applaud the artist, whose skill and genius presents a mimic man on the canvass ; we admire and celebrate the sculptor, who works out that same in enduring marble ; but how insignificant are these achievements, though the highest and the fairest in all the departments of art, in comparison with the great vocation of

human mothers ? They work not on the canvass—that shall fail ; nor the marble—that shall crumble to dust—but upon mind, upon spirit, which is to last forever, and which is to bear, for good or for evil, throughout its duration, the impress of a mother's plastic hand."

This exquisite delineation of the important part woman is called to perform in the community, coming from one so highly distinguished, will, it is hoped, pour conviction on the minds and hearts of our legislators, so that, rising above those partial and trivial considerations by which they have hitherto been guided, they will enact laws, which in their operation will be just and impartial. Reflection will convince them that the high duties assigned to women cannot be well nor faithfully performed, unless they receive that protection which equity demands. They will also perceive that the interests of the sexes are so involved, however distinct may be their duties, that whatever operates injuriously on one sex is equally injurious to the other.

Upon viewing the whole subject, it is apparent, that by a departure from primitive institutions women were deprived of their natural privileges by the prevalence of brute force ; and that in those nations who maintained their independence and primitive laws, women have ever been partakers of those inestimable rights, ordained by their beneficent Creator.

Egypt, so long famed, maintained for ages, by the wisdom of her laws, her ancient manners and institutions undisturbed by foreign invasions ; and in Egypt great equality prevailed. We know but little of the

internal government of China, and of course great latitude is taken by the ignorant in reference to females, &c. We will only refer to the account given by some French missionaries, who it is believed were the first, if not the only, Europeans ever freely admitted into the interior of that ancient empire. We learn from these missionaries that women were treated with much respect in China, and that they saw several triumphal arches raised in honor of some celebrated females, among other beautiful monuments in commemoration of great and glorious achievements. After much intreaty some of the missionaries were permitted to see and converse with a few of the ladies belonging to the court, and to explain to them the peculiar tenets of their faith. Their style of living was truly magnificent, and they possessed much intelligence and politeness ; but no success attended the labors of the missionaries, and they were soon obliged to quit the celestial empire. Nothing attests more powerfully the wisdom of the Chinese than their determination to exclude Europeans and others from residing among them. The fate of India is before them.

Malcom, in his late travels in the Birman empire, represents the inhabitants in the most pleasing colors. Great equality prevails among the natives, and we learn from various sources that the females are active citizens, transacting business with equal success and intelligence as the male population, and exemplary in the performance of their civil and religious duties, Malcom remarks, ' No false religion, ancient or modern, is comparable to the religion of the Birmans. Its philosophy is indeed not exceeded in folly by any oth-

er ; but its doctrines and practical piety bear a strong resemblance to those of the holy scriptures.' There is scarcely a principle or precept in the Bedegat, the sacred book of the Birmans, which is not found in the Bible.' Did the people but act up to its principles of peace and love, oppression and injury would be known no more within their borders.

' When strangers come to their houses,' says our author, ' they are hospitable and courteous, and a man may travel from one end of the kingdom to another without money, feeding and lodging as well as the people.' Temperance is universal. ' The use of all spirits, opium, &c. is strictly forbidden. I have seen thousands together for hours on public occasions, rejoicing in all ardor, without observing an act of violence or a case of intoxication. During my whole residence, I never saw an immodest act or gesture in man, woman, or child.' Children are treated with great kindness, and they are almost as reverential to parents as among the Chinese. They continue to be greatly controlled by them, even to middle life, and the aged when sick are treated with great care and tenderness. Old people are always treated with marked deference. Mr Malcom says, ' the Birmans are deficient in enterprise or ambition ; they appear to have no desire for riches any further than as much as will enable them to live agreeably and indulge in the harmless amusements common among them. The religion of the heathen is every where a religion of merit and demerit.'

This is assuredly the doctrine of the inspired teacher of christianity, ' by their fruits ye shall know them.'

And it is to be ardently wished that all who profess this holy faith would comply with its requisitions, and manifest that spirit of peace and love which prevails among this ancient race. But the rev. writer says, we must make the most strenuous exertions to teach the heathen a *better* faith ; and for this purpose our missionaries, who, it is acknowledged, have hitherto done nothing of any consequence, must be doubled or trebled, without any regard to the wants of our own people, or to the sufferings of the poor, who are vehemently called upon to contribute their mite, whatever be the necessities of their families, to support missionaries in an expensive style of living wholly inconsistent with their calling and professions. It is assuredly time for these impositions to be done away. It may be questioned whether the author was fully informed of what was understood by annihilation, as being the supreme good to which Budhists aspire ; which he calls the folly of their philosophy ; as he assures us, that there is scarcely a principle or precept in the sacred book of the Birmans, which is not found in the Bible. It would be folly therefore to imagine that a people so sagacious and intelligent would not have been more enlightened, and possessed of a more perfect belief in reference to rewards and punishments. Neither should we be surprised that Mr Malcom should have been deceived, when we attend to the statement of Dr Carey, 'that after, by years of study, when he thought he had fully mastered the Bengalee, and had then preached it two full years, he discovered that he was not understood ;' yet Dr Carey's teachers flattered him that he was understood perfectly. This is a very

common deception of pundits and moonshees. What encouragement to missionaries !

The Birman empire has undoubtedly existed for ages in nearly its present form ; the simplicity and hospitality of their manners and customs, and the purity of their faith, is a manifestation of our position ; and there are also many vestiges or monuments of ancient art, which testify to its antiquity. It is, we believe, madame de Stael who says, ' After having learned every thing which tends to happiness and good, we must return to a state of primitive simplicity before we can reach the happiness, of which we are made susceptible.' May we not be allowed to suppose that Jesus intended to convey this lesson of humility when he says, ' except ye be converted and become as little children, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven'?

Looking back through the long vista of ages, history every where presents a wearisome detail of the destructive power of man, in empires subverted, cities ruined, and the inhabitants slain or subjugated ; old laws and institutions changed, or new ones made to suit the convenience or rapacity of the conqueror. Amidst all this ruin and desolation, the influence of woman is seldom perceived. Destined to seclusion, and employed in forming the minds and bodies of her children, and in endeavors to shield her family from evils she cannot prevent, she patiently and firmly submits to her fate. Yet, now and then breaking through the barriers to which she is subjected, woman fearlessly assumes the reins of government ; and although no previous care or education may have formed her mind for the high station she has assumed, it is in

most instances soon perceived, by the wisdom of her institutions and the fostering care of her people, by the encouragement of industry and the patronage of literature and art, that the mind of woman is susceptible of all the grandeur and elevation, which is demanded by a sovereign. Her taste is also displayed in erecting lofty aqueducts for conveying water to barren and unfruitful plains, and in rendering roads passable—in beautifying old cities, or in building new, and making them the splendid receptacles of wealth and power and monuments of greatness and benevolence.

It is not contended that female sovereigns were exempt from the vices common to kings, or the lust for power ; but, while so much time was devoted to improvements and to elevate the standard of human happiness, war, with all its horrors, must have been suspended, and the people given time for relaxation.

In modern days the empresses of Russia have bestowed more time and attention to improve the condition of their subjects, than any of the former sovereigns. Peter the Great, albeit he was prodigal of human life to excess, formed many plans for the civilization of his people, which have been improved and carried into execution by the succeeding empresses ; who, by their patronage of the arts and sciences, by munificent donations, and the encouragement given to every branch of industry, have entitled themselves to be called the benefactors of their people. By their humanity and wisdom they have abolished torture and

capital punishments, except in cases where the whole empire was in danger of being subverted.

We cannot enough admire the magnanimity and singular humanity of Catharine the Second, who would not suffer even the vile impostor who had kept all Russia in alarm to bear the torture, so much insisted on by her people. Neither did she punish the mistress of her husband, whom the worthless emperor had determined should supersede the empress, and she was moreover suffered to retain all the presents which had been lavished on her.

We cannot enumerate or sufficiently commend, in the slight sketch here given, the improvements made by this wonderful princess. We are told, she would pass thirteen hours out of the twenty-four, in contriving to mitigate the evils to which her subjects had been subjected. She released debtors, and encouraged them to repair their fortunes by her wise and humane laws. She founded colleges and schools in every part of her dominions ; established arsenals and hospitals, and constructed prisons with a view to prevent the disorders incident to places of confinement, and gave great encouragement to commerce and industry. She founded towns, and repaired old and waste places. The taxes were lightened, and, in cases of difficulty, altogether remitted. Intelligent travellers, sent by the empress, visited every part of her extensive dominions, and reported what were the products and soil. She invited men of taste and science to her court, and was desirous to profit by their experience.

Catharine's own information,—her knowledge of

languages, added to her beauty and elegance of manners, caused her to be much respected and admired.

Coxe, the traveller, so much celebrated, passed some time in Russia, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with the empress. He extols the propriety and the dignified though affable demeanor of this highly-gifted sovereign.

Having acquired without war the sovereignty of the Crimea, of the Isle of Tuman, and a great part of the Kuban, she called the former of these countries Taurida, and the other Caucasus. She made a splendid tour through her new dominions, and, at her new city Cherson, was visited by the king of Poland, and had a second interview with the emperor Joseph on her tour. Having traversed the Crimea, she returned to Moscow; leaving, in her progress, traces of her munificence and condescension.

Catharine reigned over the Russians less despotically, than over herself. She was never hurried away by anger, never a prey to dejection, and never indulged in transports of joy. In the year 1763, when Catharine was alarmed with various plots against her person and throne, she was busied in all the interesting and useful measures of government, with as much calmness and assiduity as if her reign was to be everlasting. Amidst occupations, each of which seemed sufficient to arrest her whole attention, the perplexed and uncertain jurisprudence of Russia engaged her much, and she resolved to apply a remedy to the various disorders which prevailed. With this view she summoned deputies to Moscow from all parts of her vast empire, that she might obtain their ideas on the

laws best fitted for their peculiar exigencies, and she herself repaired to that ancient capital.

When they were assembled, she wished to leave them in possession of uncontrolled liberty ; and therefore, though she attended in the hall and could see and hear all that passed, she herself was not perceived. The instructions which she had composed, with the assistance of some learned men, were translated into the Russian language, and the business was begun by the perusal of them. The original copy, almost entirely in the handwriting of Catharine, has since been deposited, enclosed in a magnificent case of silver gilt, in an apartment of the imperial academy of sciences at Petersburg. Catharine was highly complimented by the respective sovereigns to whom copies of these instructions were sent, who did not hesitate to pronounce, that they would be an eternal monument of her glory. It unquestionably redounds greatly to the honor of the empress, that these instructions are founded on the principles of an enlightened humanity ; and that, although autocratrix, and possessing unlimited power, she recognises no legitimate authority but that which is founded on justice. Her whole plan was directed to prevent all those, who governed under her, from exercising a capricious and cruel authority.

The spirit of toleration, which animated the whole of Catharine's administration, exhibits a very remarkable and almost singular phenomenon in a despotic government. Notwithstanding all opposition, the empress adhered to the resolution she had formed at the commencement of her reign ; and from that moment to the

day of her death, not one instance occurred of a human being suffering in any respect on account of his religious opinions. Not only the conquered provinces were protected in the free exercise of their religion, but people of all countries and persuasions might aspire to any post under government, if they were but worthy. The intolerant of other countries might learn moderation and christian forbearance in Russia.

Not satisfied with all this, the empress gave to her people almost every year some solemn instance of the protection she granted to the liberty of worship. On the day of the benediction of the waters, her confessor, by her orders, invited to his house the ecclesiastics of all communions, and gave them a grand entertainment, which Catharine called the 'dinner of toleration.' It has been calculated that the offices of religion are performed in Petersburg in fourteen different languages.

In whatever light Catharine is considered, she will ever be placed in the first rank among those who, by their genius, their talents, and especially by their success, have attracted the admiration of mankind. Her sex giving a bolder relief to the great qualities displayed by her on the throne, will place her above all comparison in history ; and we must return to the fabulous ages, to find a woman who has executed such daring projects.

The extraordinary capacity, accomplishments, and beauty of this Russian empress, would have made her one of the pillars of human greatness, had not her mind been early perverted by the ambitious designs of

her mother. These induced her to sacrifice the best affections of youth, those pure moral obligations, on which depend all true happiness, to ambition and other unholy passions. This is the source of evil incident to the state of females. They are taught to acquire by artifice that power, of which they feel themselves to be unjustly deprived ; and in pursuing this object they not unfrequently overstep the mark. They moreover lose those innate impressions of rectitude which should have been carefully nourished.

Lessons of this kind are most frequently impressed by example. Girls soon perceive that the mother gains all her power from the arts of duplicity and servility ; and this is more especially the case where inferior men bear sway, who are ever most jealous of their prerogative. Girls also often see a mother who strictly performs all her duties, whose time is devoted to the care of her family and children, who is often both nurse and physician, wholly dependent, and obliged to ask as a favor, what in justice she should command. This injustice is peculiarly felt by the wives of farmers, who are perpetually employed in making butter, cheese, and in all that pertains to the business of families in its varied departments ; and, what is still more important, they are occupied with the care of children both by day and night. Yet, with all these accumulated labors and the unavoidable sufferings to which they are subjected by necessity, these women are wholly dependent on, perhaps, boorish, sordid husbands ; one of whom, if he please, may allow his wife some small portion from the profits arising from the sale of the articles she has manufactured, or, in some

instances, vouchsafe to give her part of the wool produced on the farm, which she is condemned to spin and make into clothing for her family. Should she desire to give her children somewhat superior advantages to those they could obtain in the common parish school, she obtains leave to send them to another, by receiving the master, or mistress, as a boarder to defray the expense. True, she may sometimes have an assistant; but in all cases, the care and responsibility rests on the wife.

Let it not be supposed that this picture is overcharged; we can appeal to any one of observation, and who has had opportunities of judging of the general condition of women. Nor is this all; the husband may so manage as to leave at his death only a small pittance out of a good estate to his wife\*; and as common, narrow-minded men think that whatever license is allowed by the laws is justifiable, this monstrous iniquity is not uncommon. We ask of the liberal and intelligent, if this is just? if it be consistent with humanity, honor, and integrity, that such advantages should be taken of their mothers, wives, and daughters, to whom they are so much indebted, and on whom they so greatly depend for enjoyment.

We did not intend to have digressed so far, before we had closed our remarks on Catharine; but have been carried away by our entire conviction of the evils inflicted on society by the perversity and folly of legislators, who presumptuously call in question the intel-

\* Husbands are allowed by our laws, without any regard to justice, not only thus to dispose of the property they possess, but also to dispose of that which belongs to their wives, if not previously secured.

lectual powers of woman, and meanly take advantage of that physical weakness which demands protection.

The subterfuges, resorted to by those who contend for the inferior capacity of woman, are at once detected by the wonderful talents for government so fully displayed by most of those who have exercised regal sway ; and it would be difficult to select, from the vast number of kings, any counterpoise to those few queens who have so greatly signalized themselves ; the great Alfred of England always excepted. Nevertheless narrow-minded, malicious critics, envious of the fame acquired by Catharine and other celebrated queens, endeavour to obscure their lustre ; and because, in some instances, they have partaken of the vices common to kings, they would have it appear that all their good actions proceeded from vanity and ambition. To this charge however all may be subjected who have been the benefactors of mankind, by those who love darkness rather than light, and have no pleasure in contemplating that portion of our nature which was bestowed on man by the inspiration of the Almighty. Minds of this cast find only the dust from whence man was taken.

The splendid order of St. Catharine, which belongs to ladies of the first quality in Russia, was instituted, it is said, by Peter in honor of his wife, Catharine the First, on account of the assistance she gave him on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honorable, and worn only by ladies of the first distinction. Peter the Great was indeed much indebted to his wife ; and of this he appeared sensible by appointing her his

successor ; her extraordinary talents and fidelity to her interests merited this confidence and distinction.

The princess Dashkoff, who was first maid of honor to Catharine the Second, possessed the highest capacity. She was, we are told, the soul of the conspiracy which placed Catharine on the throne, and detected the conspiracy of her husband for her destruction. This lady ever adhered to the empress, who made her the directress of the academy of sciences. She found the institution in great disorder, and reformed all the abuses, economized its funds, established new professorships, enlarged the establishment, and directed a magnificent building upon a plan of her own ; for the empress would not permit any one to interfere. The princess remained in this office ten or twelve years, till the death of the empress. During this time she accomplished many important objects ; among them was the compiling, or rather creating, a dictionary of the Russian language ; a much greater undertaking than Johnson's far-famed English Dictionary, inasmuch as the Russian language had never been reduced to rules.

This extraordinary woman was equally active in domestic life, contrary to the usual course ; and after the demise of her husband, whose affairs were much embarrassed, she by economy relieved the estate from the debts contracted, and by numberless improvements caused it to be very productive. She relieved her tenants from the burdens, which had been imposed on them, and by care and encouragement made them happy. The princess paid every attention to the education

of her children, and was, in all respects, a truly devoted mother.

Had Russia been governed by the heirs male, in all probability what had been achieved by the labors of Peter the Great would have been rendered useless, and that extensive empire would have remained in a state of barbarism. But she has gradually advanced through the several reigns of empresses, more especially by the talents and influence of Catharine the Second,—whose descendants, inheriting many of her gifts and pursuing steadily her wise and beneficent plans of government, have raised the Russian Empire to a height of grandeur equal, if not superior, to any nation on earth.

But we must again recur to the truly virtuous and highly gifted Isabella of Spain. No vice nor folly can be attributed to her ; her errors resulted from a conscientious devotion to the faith, in which she was sedulously educated. She collected all her powers to expel the usurpers of her ancient domain, not to augment her territories ; and she made the most humane provisions to relieve the sufferings unavoidably incident to a state of warfare.

Isabella's treatment of the Jews, and in affording her sanction to that terrible scourge, the Inquisition, were in conformity with the dictates of the superstition and intolerance she had so early imbibed. To this fatal delusion may be traced the subsequent misfortunes of that beautiful portion of Europe. Her successors profited not by her wisdom, but zealously pursued those pernicious principles, which evince the imperfection of the human character.

But Elizabeth of England is, in our estimation, unrivalled; all her wars were made in self-defence. She generously assisted the inhabitants of the Low Countries; but this was done, not only to prevent a threatened invasion of England, but also to succor the oppressed and almost subdued protestants. It is also admitted that no conquest was ever more glorious than that achieved by Elizabeth over the invaders of her kingdom, when the boasted *invincible armada* was dispersed and destroyed by the foresight, energy, and undaunted spirit of this glorious sovereign.

Nevertheless it has with much pertinacity been objected to Elizabeth, that her jealousy of Mary induced her to detain as a prisoner this princess, who had sought a refuge in her kingdom. Yet it should be remembered that the jealousy of Elizabeth had its rise, not in any comparisons in reference to beauty or external accomplishments, but in the perpetual aggression and efforts of Mary for her destruction. Her jealousy was not 'that green eyed monster which doth make the meat it feeds on,' but assumed a more palpable form, presenting the horrid shapes of conspiracy, namely, assassinations, bulls of excommunication, and all the *et ceteras*.

If it be a crime to distrust and dislike the instigator of plots invented for our destruction, or, by superior foresight and wisdom to counteract them, then is Elizabeth guilty. Neither Henry Fourth of France, nor the Prince of Orange, were able to escape the machinations of those powerful conspirators, whose constant arts were employed for the destruction of the protestants. Had Elizabeth suffered Mary to leave her

dominions and seek elsewhere the assistance she required, her presence, her talents and address, might have so strengthened the catholic party, as to enable them to accomplish all their schemes, by wresting the sceptre from the hand of the lawful queen and placing it firmly in that of her rival. The great qualities of Elizabeth have been transmitted to her people, who, by their courage, enterprise, and spirit, have sustained a high standing among the nations, and, notwithstanding some deviations, which may be ascribed to the follies and vices of their kings, have made themselves the umpires of Europe.

The present queen of England will we trust, as she advances in life, follow the example of her great predecessor, and by freely granting the justice demanded, while holding with firmness the reins of government, will, by a wise and frugal administration, acquire the love and confidence of her subjects throughout her extensive empire. Had the young and interesting princess Charlotte been suffered to live, the hopes of the nation might have been realized, and she would have emulated her mighty progenitor.

In giving our decided testimony in favor of female sovereigns, we would not be thought to arrogate in favor of women any real superiority of mind or powers ; but readily admit that the kind propensities natural to mankind, have been cherished by women whilst performing the duties of wives and mothers ; and thus the love of peace, order, and beauty, have been preserved and nourished in their minds and hearts, while watching with affectionate solicitude the objects of their love. On the other hand, the kind propensities

of men are frequently rendered callous or inoperative, by their perpetual collision or jarring interests. Moreover, the wars in which men are engaged stifle the generous sympathies of nature, and too often harden their hearts, by subjecting them to witness and even glory in the sufferings of their fellow-men.

The beautiful and touching tribute to the superiority of the female character, by Ledyard the celebrated traveller, is the more to be valued as coming from one whose sphere of observation and experience had been such as to enable him to speak with confidence, and whose sincerity cannot be suspected. 'I have observed (says Ledyard) among all nations that women do not hesitate like men to perform a hospitable or generous action, not haughtily, nor arrogantly, nor superciliously, but are full of courtesy and fond of society, industrious, economical, and ingenuous; more liable to err in general than man, but also more virtuous and performing more good actions than he. I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship to a woman, whether civilized or savage, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide-spread regions of the wandering Tartar, if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, woman has ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, so worthy the appellation of benevolence, these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I

drank the sweet draught, and if hungry, ate the coarse morsel with a double relish.'

This testimony in favor of the humanity and generous sympathy of women, attests their high endowments and God-like attributes; nor can the invidious remarks of the sordid and selfish invalidate the testimony. No attribute of the Almighty so powerfully attracts the human mind and heart as loving kindness and tender mercy.

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#### NOTE.

In briefly relating the charges brought against the queen of Scots, 'which she took little pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge, the only part which she positively denied was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This article was indeed the only one which could justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation there were produced the following evidences :—

'Copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed. The evidence of her two secretaries Nau and Curle, who had confessed without being put to the torture both that she received these letters from Babington and that they had written the answers by her orders. The confession of Babington that he had written these letters and received the answers; and the confession of Ballard and Savage that Babington

had showed them these letters of Mary written in the cipher which had been settled between them.

'It is evident that this complication of evidence, though every circumstance corroborates the general conclusion, resolves itself finally into the testimony of the two secretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their mistress's concurrence in Babington's conspiracy.

'The sole circumstance of her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and affirming that they never would to her face persist in their evidence. But that demand was not then supported by law in trials where the crown was prosecutor. \* The clause, contained in an act of the 13th of the queen, was a novelty; that the species of treason there enumerated must be proved by two witnesses, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the ministers and crown lawyers were sure to refuse every indulgence beyond what the strict letter of the law required. Not to mention that these secretaries were not at Fotheringay castle, and could not upon Mary's demand be produced, queen Elizabeth was however willing to have allowed Nau and Curle to have been produced; but the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, ought to be supported by strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice.

'The proof against Mary, it must be confessed, is not destitute of this advantage, and it is difficult, if not im-

\* This act of Elizabeth, which it is said was then a novelty, is highly honorable to the character of that queen.

possible, to account for Babington's receiving an answer written in her name and in the cipher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princess. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has discovered every thing which could guide our judgment with regard to it. Mary's reply consisted chiefly in her own denial. Whatever force may be in that denial, was much weakened by her positively affirming that she never had any correspondence of any kind with Babington, a fact however of which there remains not the least doubt.'

But above all, what confidence can be had in the declarations of Mary, who, when on the scaffold, 'bade her steward Melvil to commend her to her son and tell him that she had done nothing injurious to his rights or honor; though she was actually in treaty to disinherit him, and evidence was produced to prove that Allen and Parsons were, at that very time, negotiating by her orders, at Rome, the conditions of transferring her English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son? Mary had even entered into a conspiracy against him, and had appointed Lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming catholic.'

That Mary, from the earliest period of the reign of Elizabeth, had been engaged in plotting her destruction, cannot be controverted, from the publicity given to these transactions. In the several bulls issued by

the pope against Elizabeth, wherein the title of Mary to the crown of England was constantly had in view, Elizabeth was denounced as a heretic,—she was declared illegitimate,—incapable of reigning,—and her subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance.

‘Mary as the heir, had assumed the title and arms of England, which she appeared resolved never to forego. The conspiracy to destroy all the protestants, of which the Guises, Mary’s uncles, were the chief instigators, with the intent to gratify their ambition by placing their neice on the throne of England, is notorious. This horrid conspiracy, which excited the utmost terror among the protestants, commenced by the massacre of the Huguenots at Paris and in other parts of France, where thousands of innocent victims were sacrificed at the shrine of superstition, and to the lust of power.

‘With all this evidence against Mary and her partisans, who can wonder at the people’s extreme fear and dread of the power of the king of Spain, that ruthless tyrant, who had perpetrated such appalling cruelties on the protestants of the Low Countries. Thus situated, it is altogether useless and futile to represent the reluctance of Elizabeth as feigned, to have the sentence passed against Mary executed, when it was manifest that the lives and liberties of all her protestant subjects were believed to depend on that event.’

Both the parliament and courtiers earnestly solicited the queen to carry into execution the sentence against Mary; and when the queen begged the parliament to think once again whether it were possible to find any

expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity, the parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration, but could find no other possible expedient. They reiterated their solicitations and entreaties and arguments. They even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them as subjects and children ; that the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the protestants was no longer a secret ; and, as the sole resource of the latter persecuted sect lay in Elizabeth, so the chief hope, which the former entertained of final success, consisted in the person and in the title of the queen of Scots. That this very circumstance brought matters to extremity between these princesses, rendering the life of one the death of the other.' It was under the influence of these impressions that the council, fearing any delay, persuaded Davison to send off the warrant, contrary to the queen's positive command, and hence he incurred her high displeasure.

As it was well known that Philip was secretly preparing a great naval armament to invade England, and that the people of England, who dreaded his power and who were even more alarmed than the queen, should endeavor to hasten the death of Mary,—especially as rumors were in daily circulation in reference to the Spanish fleet, which it was said had arrived at Milford Haven ; that the Duke of Guise was landed with a strong army, &c. &c.,—Davison averred that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have persuaded him to send off the warrant.

We deem it to be unworthy of a grave historian like Hume, whose account we have copied, to flatter popular prejudice, by ascribing to Elizabeth artifice and dissimulation, with the intent to screen herself from the odium of sacrificing the queen of Scots, from motives of jealousy or revenge; when, from his own account, no other expedient remained to secure the safety, and relieve the apprehensions of her subjects. Neither is it consistent with the state of things, to ascribe the hesitation and anxiety, which agitated Elizabeth, to dissimulation or artifice, when the motives for her conduct had been so fully explained. The attention due to her own character, and the hatred and contumely to which she would be exposed,—her respect for rank, and the unwillingness she manifested that Mary should suffer the disgrace of dying on a scaffold,—all operated so strongly, that, according to the testimony of Davison, Elizabeth was desirous that a secret act of justice should have anticipated the doom which awaited the queen of Scots. It will be perceived that our design is, not only to vindicate the character of queen Elizabeth, but to prove by many other illustrious examples the equality of the sexes in point of intellect, and thus to claim that justice which has hitherto been denied them.

The injustice of our laws as regards females, and their consequent sufferings and degradation, cannot be too strongly denounced; some instances which have recently occurred has excited great attention. The late trial for incest has covered with shame and indignation the faces of all, and filled their minds with horror. The fact, that this most odious and unnatural of all

crimes was perpetrated in consequence of the tyranny allowed men to exercise over their families, cannot be denied. The brutal force used habitually by this man, had, it is apparent, so terrified and benumbed the faculties of his wife, that she made no resistance to the sacrilegious act of her husband. What both she and her innocent daughter had previously suffered must be inferred.

That crimes the most appalling have their source in the injustice and partiality of our laws are too apparent, and must force conviction on the minds of all who are acquainted with the subject. The misery, to which wives are reduced who are compelled to live with profligate husbands, can hardly be calculated. Ruin and infamy, attended with loathsome diseases which are communicated to their helpless offspring, is unavoidable, because they have no legal means of redress, or of escaping from their intolerable yoke.

Can we marvel that women so enthralled should lose their sense of responsibility and religious resignation ; that frenzied by accumulated wrongs, and accustomed to see vice triumphant, they should seek by self-destruction, or by that of their odious oppressor, to free themselves and their children from their manifold sufferings.\* Crimes of this description have the most baleful influence over society and the whole community, and while the humane are employed in erecting hospitals, asylums, &c. &c., the injustice and want of foresight in our legislators protect the detestable

\* Mothers, when reduced to extremity, have been known not only to destroy themselves but their children, fearing to leave them to a brutal father.

tyranny of husbands, while they make no effectual provision for the security of the wife.

Should a wife, by declaring herself in fear of her life, succeed in having her husband placed in confinement, and in the mean time provide some asylum, where by the labor of her hands she could supply the wants of her children, her husband, when released from his generally short confinement, may intrude into her dwelling unrestrained, and seize on the few articles acquired by her industry to satisfy his creditors, or to minister to his vices. The only relief a woman can obtain, who wishes to free herself from an unfaithful and abandoned husband, is attended by circumstances more cruel and humiliating than the evils she so much desires to avoid. However exemplary may have been her conduct, and although she may have performed all her duties with integrity and kindness, she must quit her family,—must relinquish her children, and in all probability consign them to the direction of the paramour of her profligate husband. She is deprived of her rank in society, and obliged to subsist on the pittance, however humble, which the court—who are careful to discourage every attempt made by women to emancipate themselves from thraldom—deem it proper to allow. On the other hand, the guilty husband, retaining all his rights, appears to be as much respected as if his conduct had been unimpeached.

There is also another evil resulting from the abuse of power highly criminal. A husband may so dispose of his estate,\* notwithstanding his wife may have pos-

\* The real estate of the wife only cannot be disposed of by the husband.

sessted property in her own right at their marriage, so as to leave her, at his death, so small a portion as will oblige her to quit the style which she has been accustomed to, and move in an humbler sphere, which is not only painful and mortifying in the extreme, but subjects her to the suspicion of having secret faults which alienated the affections of her husband, although she may have conscientiously discharged all her duties.

It would be useless to enter into any further detail of the injuries resulting from the abuse of power, which press so heavily on women, but are felt by all; the retributive justice of the Almighty is ever in operation. Should an equitable provision be enacted in behalf of the wife on her marriage, and a reasonable portion of income allotted to her, and were she allowed to have the disposal of her own property, most of the grievances would disappear which are now so oppressive. Women would be treated with the respect due to a companion and fellow-laborer; and as they are devoted to the interests and happiness of their children, they would have it in their power to preserve them from the sufferings occasioned by the vices of their fathers, should they have the misfortune to have such.

This arrangement would also be highly advantageous to the husband, who may happen to be unfortunate, as it would save the whole family from want and disgrace, and afford an opportunity of regaining property. Where women have an income in their own right, it contributes greatly to domestic concord.

Our iniquitous laws may be likened to the blasting mildew, which, fastening on the young fruit, corrodes and absorbs the sweet sap which is required to produce

the desired maturity. Not the fabled box of Pandora contained more evils to afflict the human race than our boasted laws. Hope nevertheless remained at the bottom of the box, and on this will we rely while standing on the verge of eternity, and trust that more wise and beneficent laws will shed their mild influence on our land ; not reducing things to their original chaos, but producing the order and beauty which was apparently the great design of the Creator. If the love of God and man fill the hearts of our legislators, can they neglect that justice and mercy on which they are assured to hang all the law and the prophets ?



# R E V I E W

OF

CAMPBELL'S LECTURES ON GREEK POETRY;

AN ARTICLE

IN THE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

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CONTAINING

A BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE RECEPTION OF ULYSSES AT  
THE PHÆACIAN COURT, AFTER HAVING SUFFERED SHIP-  
WRECK ON THEIR COAST. FROM HOMER'S ODYSSEY,  
BOOKS 6—13.



## R E V I E W .

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*Lectures on Poetry, by T. Campbell. Lecture Third, on Greek Poetry. [An article in the New Monthly Magazine.]*

IN these truly interesting lectures on the poetry and genius of the Greeks, Mr Campbell has noticed the objections of the captious and dogmatical to the Homeric poems with a spirit worthy of the subject. The character and peculiar beauties of these celebrated ancient productions are described with that glow of poetic enthusiasm, which can only be felt by a congenial mind and enable it to appreciate their unrivalled excellence.

The principal characters and events are vividly portrayed and powerfully recal to remembrance those beautiful images, which delighted our youthful imagination. Nevertheless, the class of readers who have given only a slight attention to these poems, or have viewed them as fabulous and romantic tales, will not,

it is feared, be induced by this brief outline of Mr Campbell to investigate the subject with the attention, which their various beauties and intrinsic merits demand.

If it be contended, that Homer's descriptions were not strictly copied from originals, it must be granted that the virtues and graces delineated were highly estimated and prevalent at that early period.

In selecting some of the sketches of Mr Campbell, we shall develop more fully those details to which he has briefly alluded, with a view to interest youthful readers and induce them to acquaint themselves with the manners and opinions of past ages, which attest the unchanging nature of truth and duty.

‘ Whilst the *Odyssey* resembles the *Iliad* in diction and descriptive manners, it opens an interesting variety in epic poetry. It concentrates our sympathy on fewer characters, its interest is less warlike and public, its concourse of agents is less magnificent, and its tone of action and feeling is less impetuous. On the other hand it has the two-fold charm of being at once the most familiar and the most fanciful of all ancient draughts of existence ; abounding in the minutest traits of domestic manners, and at the same time teeming with a wildness of imagination, which, classical as the poem is, may be truly denominated romantic.’

Although the *Odyssey* abounds in events highly interesting, we shall at present select only that portion which describes the reception of Ulysses at Phœacia, when cast on its shore naked and nearly famished. There is perhaps no action which excites so much sympathy and applause, as a disinterested attention to

the unfortunate and helpless ; and nothing of course which elicits greater admiration and respect, than to find a whole community emulous to relieve a shipwrecked, destitute stranger, by every generous and courteous attention.

As it appears to be the design of Homer to give his readers a lesson of piety and virtue, and thus teach them that the brave and wise can attain nothing great and glorious without the assistance of heaven ; the poet, in compliance with the taste of the age for metaphorical representations, which it was imagined were well calculated to impress common minds, introduces them to the bright abodes of Olympus, where, having convened the gods, Jove is represented as discussing, with powerful and striking demonstration, man's freedom of will, as opposed to fate or necessity ; and as nothing more conclusive has resulted from modern investigation, we shall give the speech entire :—

\* **Perverse mankind ! whose wills, created free,**  
Charge all their woes on absolute decree ;  
All to the dooming gods their guilt translate,  
And follies are miscall'd the crimes of Fate.  
When to his lust *Ægyptus* gave the rein,  
Did fate or we th' adulterous act constrain ?  
Did fate or we, when great *Atrides* died,  
Urge the bold traitor to the regicide ?  
Hermes I sent, while yet his soul remain'd,  
Sincere from royal blood, and faith profan'd,  
To warn the wretch, that young *Orestes*, grown  
To manly years, should re-assert the throne.\*

\* Pope's Homer's *Odyssey*, Book i. p. 38.

Yet, impotent of mind, and uncontrol'd,  
He plung'd into the gulf which heaven foretold.

Minerva, after submissively assenting to the award of the divine arbiter, expresses her sorrow for the unhappy fate of the brave Ulysses, whom Calypso still detains, notwithstanding he has so long and earnestly desired to see once more his dear native isle ; and asks, if omnipotence will neglect to save the blameless hero who, with frequent and pure rites, adored the sovereign power. The Thunderer reproved the goddess for the supposition that the Greek had unjustly suffered, assuring her, that the misconduct of him and his followers had caused his misfortunes ; but bids her cease to mourn, as he had expiated his offences, and would now be permitted to return.

Minerva, thus assured, appears in a dream to Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, king of Phæacia, and admonishes her to haste at early dawn to the fountain where the Phæacian virgins lave their vests and prepare the robes of state, as her marriage-day is nigh, and kindred monarchs sigh for her favor and alliance. This warning was permitted that the princess might be present to assist the toil-worn hero, who had been cast on that part of the island, after all his ships with his followers had been whelmed in the depths of the ocean.

Nausicaa, obedient to the vision, no sooner arose than she sought to obtain the consent of her parents to repair to the vale with the royal car, that she might cleanse the garments of her sire and brothers ; observing, that kings draw lustre from robes of state ; that spotless garments become the young and gay ; and that

preparations were already making for the espousals of three of her brothers. Although modesty deterred the princess from making any allusion to her own nuptials, the conscious sire perceived from her blushes her secret intent ; and smiling, in the most gracious and affectionate manner granted her request ; calling her his darling joy, and adding that his daughter could ask nothing which he would not give. The attending train were ordered to prepare the car ; meantime the queen commanded her attendants to get ready sumptuous viands, and wines of the richest flavor, with a beautiful cruise of fragrance formed of burnished gold.

All being now ready, the princess mounted the gay seat, and taking the silken reins, attended by a bevy of bright damsels, they seek the spacious basin, where the Phœacian dames wash their garments. Arrived, the mules unharnessed range beside the main, and crop the verdant herbage. Their task performed, after a short repast, the sportive virgins, unbinding their shining veils, toss and retoss the ball. While thus they sport, Nausicaa's melodious voice makes the groves and hills resound, while she gracefully trod the plain, and shone transcendent above her beauteous companions.

Alarmed by the strains and sports of the party, Ulysses arose from his leafy couch, and, covering himself with verdant foliage, although his manly grace was deformed by the ooze of the tossing surge, came forward ; and fearing to offend by a near approach, addressed his prayer at a distance to the imperial maid. She alone of all her train with graceful firmness

awaited his approach, conscious of her obligation to succour the wretched, although she deemed from his appearance he was some miserable plebeian. No sooner did Ulysses declare himself to be a forlorn and defenceless outcast, and request her pity and relief, than the nymph replied in the most soothing and consolatory terms, assuring him of the succour he required.

To whom the nymph :—O stranger, cease thy care ;  
 Wise is thy soul, but man is born to bear :  
 Jove weighs affairs of earth in dubious scales,  
 And the good suffers, while the bad prevails :  
 Bear, with a soul resign'd, the will of Jove ;  
 Who breathes, must mourn : thy woes are from above.  
 But, since thou tread'st our hospitable shore,  
 'Tis mine to bid the wretched grieve no more,  
 To clothe the naked, and thy way to guide ;\* &c.

After this truly pious exhortation and benevolent assurance, Nausicaa recalled her maids, whom she reproved for their cowardice and want of reflection. She then proceeds :—

'Tis ours this son of sorrow to relieve, .  
 Cheer the sad heart, nor let affliction grieve ;  
 By Jove the stranger and the poor are sent,  
 And what to those we give, to Jove is lent.  
 Then food supply, and bathe his fainting limbs  
 Where waving shades obscure the mazy streams.†

When these commands had been performed, and her attendants had, by her desire, placed by the side of the stream one of the royal dresses, with fragrant

\* *Odyssey*, Book vi. p. 102.

† *Ibid.* B. vi. p. 102.

unguents in a golden vase, they retired, while the king, plunging in the pure element, cleansed himself from the impurities of the sea, and, having arrayed himself in the princely garments assigned him, came forward with majestic grace, his dark hair waving in the breeze ; and so improved that the princess beheld him with amazement, and secretly said to her companions, that the stranger must be the favorite of heaven ; for late he appeared a sad spectacle of woe, but now he resembled a god. ' O ! ' she exclaimed, ' that heaven would decree this man to be my spouse, or one of equal grace.'

Ulysses, charmed with the beauty and exalted sentiments of the princess, had extolled in glowing terms the feelings with which she had inspired him, and his surprise to find one so young influenced by the purest benevolence, and so ready to afford relief to a naked and defenceless stranger.

Nausicaa now prepared to return ; and resuming the robes, mounted the glittering car, and, as she pressed the splendid seat, addressed the stranger, telling him, that she should immediately direct her way to the palace, where the nobles of the land attended in state her royal sire ; but requested Ulysses to advance at a distance, till she had passed the plain where the golden grain waves in luxuriance. The princess next describes the city, surrounded by strong walls, enclosing two ample bays where ships may ride secure from every storm. Adjoining is the great fane of Neptune, and near it a forum flanked with marble, where Phæacian youths shape the broad sail, or form and smoothe the taper oar. The Phæacians are not a warlike

race; but are skilled in naval operations, rushing with eager joy into the deep, and defying the tempest. These are a proud, unpolished race, and, should she pass accompanied by a stranger of the other sex, so noble in appearance, she might be subjected to their rude censure—for females should not only be pure, but avoid every appearance of indelicacy. *Nausicaa directs Ulysses to wait embowered in a grove crowned with lofty poplars, sacred to Pallas*; a lucid lake descends in fertilizing rills around this grove, and forms a beauteous scene. Near is the royal vineyard, abounding in grapes of the richest flavor, and here a garden, adorned with flowers of every hue, which shed a delicious perfume.

From thence the city is not far distant; and as soon as Ulysses supposed she had arrived at the palace, he was desired to follow, as the royal dome could with ease be distinguished from every other by its lofty situation and superior magnificence.

When arrived, he was told to enter, and seek the queen along the rooms of state, whom he would find employed on a wonderous work designed by herself; surrounded by a circle of bright damsels, part twisting the threads, and part disposing on the spindle the purple wool. Areté, the queen, was lineally descended from the same royal line with Alcinous, and was greatly honored and beloved by her royal spouse, and shared with him the regal sway.

In equal tenderness her sons conspire,  
And all the children emulate their sire.  
When through the streets she gracious deigns to move,  
The public wonder, and the public love;

The tongues of all with transport sound her praise ;  
 The eyes of all, as on a goddess, gaze.  
 She feels the triumph of a generous breast,  
 To heal divisions, to relieve the opprest ;  
 In virtue rich ; in blessing others, blest.\*

Ulysses, when arrived at the lofty gates of the palace, paused, fixed in astonishment at the beauty and magnificence of the scene.

The front appear'd with radiant splendors gay,  
 Bright as the lamp of night, or orb of day.  
 The walls were massy brass ; the cornice high  
 Blue metals crown'd, in colours of the sky ;  
 Rich plates of gold the folding doors incase ;  
 The pillars silver on a brazen base ;  
 Silver the lintels, deep projecting o'er,  
 And gold the ringlets that command the door.  
 Two rows of stately dogs on either hand  
 In sculptur'd gold, and labor'd silver, stand ;  
 These Vulca'n form'd, with art divine, to wait  
 Immortal guardians at Alcinous' gate.  
 Alive each animated form appears,  
 And still to live beyond the power of years.  
 Fair thrones within from space to space were rais'd,  
 Where various carpets with embroidery blaz'd,  
 The work of matrons ; these the princes prest,  
 Day following day, a long continued feast.  
 Refulgent pedestals the walls surround,  
 Which boys of gold with flaming torches crown'd ;  
 The polish'd ore, reflecting ev'ry ray,  
 Blaz'd on the banquets with a double day.\*

The spacious gardens, adjoining the court, formed a counterpart to the palace. Here were trees of the finest growth, laden with delicious fruit ; vines, clus-

\* *Odyssey, Book vi. p. 172.*

tering with grapes of the richest flavor ; while flowers of various hues shed their delightful perfume over the enchanting scene ; and to crown the whole, fountains of the purest water diffused perpetual verdure and coolness around.

Ulysses for a while admired in silence this fair assemblage ; then hastily entering the magnificent vestibule, soon perceived the queen, who in the midst of all this splendor was busily employed with her maids in completing a beauteous tissue work, in which she displayed much skill and richness of fancy. Ulysses, advancing and bending low, immediately preferred his suit to the queen, imploring her, with her consort and the assembled peers, to have pity on a wretched exile, and grant him swift conveyance to his long-regretted home and beloved friends—‘ this is what the happy owe to the unhappy.’

The claim of Ulysses was immediately recognised, as the rights of hospitality were deemed sacred ; and Alcinous arising, graciously extended his hand, and Laodamas, his eldest and best beloved son, courteously resigned his splendid seat, next the king, to the stranger guest. A maiden then poured, from a golden ewer, pure water on his hands, and placed before him a polished table, which was supplied with glittering canisters of bread, and viands of the choicest flavor by a matron who served. Then the king bade the herald mingle wine, and bear it to his guests, that all might pour libations to Jove, the guardian of the stranger.

He said : Pontonous heard the king's command :  
The circling goblet moves from hand to hand ;

Each drinks the juice that glads the heart of man.  
Alcinous then, with aspect mild, began :—  
Princes and peers, attend ! while we impart  
To you, the thoughts of no inhuman heart.  
Now, pleas'd and satiate from the social rite,  
Repair we to the blessings of the night ;  
But with the rising day, assembled here,  
Let all the elders of the land appear,  
Pious observe our hospitable laws,  
And heaven propitiate in the stranger's cause :  
Then, join'd in council, proper means explore.  
Safe to transport him to the wish'd-for shore.  
(How distant that imports not us to know,  
Nor weigh the labor, but relieve the wo.)  
Meantime, nor harm nor anguish let him bear ;  
This inravel, Heaven trusts him to our care !  
But, to his native land our charge resign'd,  
Heaven's is his life to come, and all the woes behind.\*

The peers all applauded the speech of their sovereign, and unanimously advised the guest's conveyance home ; then each departing to his mansion, sought repose. When all had retired, and Ulysses remained alone with the royal pair, the queen, whose wonder had been excited by observing the guest robed in garments wrought by herself and her maidens, questions the wonderous stranger, and asks whence he is, and whence that princely air, and how, coming from lands remote, are his garments so fair and fresh ?

Ulysses then relates in part his adventures, and the perils he had endured. How Jove in anger had scattered his fleet, and whelmed his followers in the sable deep ; that he alone of all his companions had been

\* *Odyssey*, Book vii. p. 178 and 179.

cast on the isle Ogygia, where the goddess Calypso had kindly received and long detained him. But all her blandishments had failed to efface from his remembrance his beloved home ; and Calypso, wearied at length with his incessant grief and solicitude to depart, reluctantly consented to dismiss him, providing him with every accommodation in her power. After his departure from Ogygia, Ulysses was again shipwrecked on the coast of Phœacia ; and he relates, with feelings of delight, the gracious manner in which the princess their daughter had relieved his distress, and expresses his admiration of her beauty, and truly generous and dignified deportment.

Although the king appeared well pleased with the praises bestowed on his daughter, he blames her remissness in not herself conducting Ulysses to the court.

Ulysses replies, *Blame not, O hero, thy faultless child. She bade me follow in the train of her attendants ; but the fear of exciting thy displeasure detain-ed my steps.*

The king nobly rejoined, that, although he demanded a just regard to propriety, base suspicion found no place in his breast ; but whatever was right he approved. Alcinous then expresses his fervent wish, that one whose appearance was so noble, and with sentiments so congenial to his own, would consent to espouse his daughter, and dwell forever among the princes and nobles of the land, endowed with wealth and honors. But if Ulysses be reluctant, no force shall detain him. Jove bids to set the stranger on his way. In proof of his sincerity, the king assures the

chief that at the morrow's dawn a ship will be in readiness to waft him to the shore where his soul rests.

Ulysses (says Dacier) gives not a direct answer to the proposal of Alcinous to bestow on him his daughter, as it would have seemed harsh to refuse her; but addressing the Eternal Father, he fervently prays that what the king has so nobly promised may be performed, and that he may be honored in every land,—

Let fame be his, and O! my country mine!

It is probable that the king, who manifested great paternal tenderness and solicitude for his daughter, was acquainted with her sentiments in reference to Ulysses when he proffered the alliance.

The hour of rest had now arrived, when Arete bade her attendants spread the rich carpets, and prepare the fleecy couch and purple quilts, where undisturbed their guest might find repose. The busy train, after carefully performing the commands of their queen, with blazing torches in their hands attended Ulysses to his lofty and airy apartment; while far within the interior of the palace, the king and his royal consort sought repose.

The following morning the king, accompanied by the illustrious chief, repaired to the hall of council, when a herald was immediately despatched to inform the nobles and chiefs that a shipwrecked stranger, of lofty and graceful form, had arrived from unknown shores and implored their aid. The mandate of the sovereign was instantly obeyed, and the hall and court were filled with thronging multitudes, many of whom came only to gaze on the wondrous stranger and listen to his disastrous story.

The king, rising from his polished throne, informed the chiefs and senators of the stranger's unhappy fate, reminding them that, in compliance with ancient customs and the behests of Almighty Jove, no son of affliction should in vain implore their assistance. He then proposessed that fifty and two youths, well skilled in naval affairs, should be selected and commanded to launch into the sacred deep a vessel of prime speed, and be in readiness to convey the stranger to his long-desired home.

The orders of the king were instantly obeyed, and the whole assembly were invited to repair to the palace and partake of a banquet in honor of the noble stranger, and a herald was commanded to lead thither with care the tuneful bard that he might grace their festivity. The king, followed by the nobility, passed in state to the royal abode, and the sailors, having launched the galley, unfurled the shining sails, and arranged the oars, left her moored in deep water and resorted to the palace. There soon the hall, the court, and the porticoes, were filled with multitudes of old and young.

While preparations were making for the feast, the herald arrived with the bard divine, whom the gods had blessed with powers of song and skilled to raise the lofty lay, but quenched his visual orbs in darkness. Pontonous guides the master of the song to a splendid throne near a lofty column, on which he hung his lyre, and placed before him on a polished table the choicest food and a goblet of rich wine.\*

\* It was the opinion of Maximus Tyrius, that Homer in this short history of the Phœacian bard gives us in reality his own.

*Cowper's Homer's Odyssey*, p. 200.

When all had feasted, the bard, aroused by the muse, attuned his lyre and sang in lofty and harmonious strains the stern debate which arose between Achilles and the son of Laertes, when at a feast at Ilium, in honor of the gods, they doomed the fall of Troy. It was a song in that day extolled to the highest heaven. Ulysses was greatly moved, but, wishing to conceal his emotion, drew before his eyes the ample folds of his purple vest; but when the bard ceased his heroic lay, he brushed away his tears and drawing aside his mantle poured a pure libation to the gods.

The chiefs, delighted with the song, with loud applause again demand the strain; and Ulysses, overcome with contending emotions, again veiled his face. The king, who sat near, alone observed the secret sorrow of the stranger, and commanded the bard to be silent, and says,—

O, cease to sing !  
 Dumb be thy voice and mute the harmonious string !  
 Enough the feast has pleased, enough the power  
 Of heavenly song has crown'd the genial hour !  
 Incessant in the games your strength display,  
 Contest, ye brave, the honors of the day,  
 That pleased, the admiring stranger may proclaim  
 In distant regions the Phœacian fame :  
 None wield the gauntlet with so dire a sway,  
 Or swifter in the race devour the way ;  
 None in the leap spring with so strong a bound,  
 Or firmer in the wrestling press the ground.  
 Thus spoke the king ; the attending peers obey :  
 In state they move, Alcinous leads the way.  
 His golden lyre Demodorus unstrung,  
 High on a column in the palace hung :

And guided by a herald's guardian cares,  
Majestic to the lists of fame repair.\*

The princes were followed to the forum by a countless throng, and while the peerage were contending in the games, the prince Laodamas courteously advanced and invited the noble stranger to try the illustrious labors of the field, and thus steal one transient day from corroding cares. Ulysses however declined the invitation, alleging that such pastimes ill suited him, who, oppressed with sorrow and exhausted with fatigue, was desirous only of again revisiting his native shores. Euryalus, a beautiful youth who had been victor in the games, reproved Laodamas for supposing Ulysses competent to contend in the sports of the great and the brave, and sneeringly insinuated that the stranger was some wandering merchant or mean seafarer in pursuit of gain.

Ulysses, greatly incensed, remarked on the flippancy and insensibility of those who were regardless of the wrongs they inflicted, and on the diversity of qualities which the gods had bestowed on man, and closed with observing that although they had given to Euryalus a beautiful exterior, yet was he deficient in that discernment and urbanity which marked a noble mind. But thus incited by slanderous accusations, he no longer declined to enter the lists and prove his claim to share in the heroic games of princes and chiefs, however oppressed with suffering and sorrow. Then instantly advancing, Ulysses seized a quoit, far transcending in

\* *Odyssey*, Book viii. p. 190.

weight all those used by the Phœaciens, and dismissed it swiftly through the air, while the astonished crowd gaze upward, as it passed over all the marks and struck the ground beyond. The prize was immediately awarded to the stranger, who was much applauded by the judges. Ulysses, highly gratified with their applause, exultingly exclaimed,—

Rise ye, Phœaciens ! try your force,  
 If with this throw the strongest easter vie,  
 Still, further still, I bid the discus fly.  
 Stand forth, ye champions, who the gauntlet wield,  
 Or ye, the swiftest racers of the field !  
 Stand forth, ye wrestlers, who these pastimes grace,  
 I wield the gauntlet and I run the race !  
 In such heroic games I yield to none,  
 Or yield to brave Laodamas alone :  
 Shall I with brave Laodamas contend ?  
 A friend is sacred, and I style him friend.\*

The Phœaciens were much abashed by the challenge and superior skill of Ulysses, when the king with dignified mildness interfered, with the view to reconcile the parties. He commends Ulysses for the generous warmth with which he had refuted the charges publicly alleged against him, and urges him to continue a spectator of their games, that when his woes and wanderings should cease he might repeat their achievements to his consort and children ; assuring his noble guest, that no man capable of estimating merit will deny his worth or offend him more.

The king then called on those who excelled in the dance and in the song, and on those who were unrival-

\* *Odyssey*, Book viii. p. 194.

led in speed and in the arts of seamanship, to display their skill in presence of their guest, that he might bear their fame to the heroes of his land. A herald was ordered to return to the palace and bring hither the lyre, that the bard might grace the pastimes with his melodious lays. Mean time a spacious circle was levelled for the dance by those who were selected as umpires, and the bard having received his lyre advanced into the area, where he was soon encircled by a band of blooming youths.

Ulysses beheld with astonishment their graceful movements and agility in dancing, while with wondrous dexterity they tossed a purple ball of curious workmanship to each other, and alternately cast it high in air without suffering it to touch the ground. Ulysses, having witnessed the wonderful feats of the performers, congratulated the king on the happiness and prosperity enjoyed by his subjects under the mild and equitable sway of a monarch so virtuous and beloved, and assures him that their skill surpasses all which had been told him.

Pleased with the courtesy of his guest and the applause so promptly bestowed, the king tells his peers that, since Ulysses has proved himself worthy of their regard, they should, in imitation of their sovereign, present him pledges of hospitality and love due to a stranger of such distinguished merit, that thus honored he might share with joy the social feast.

And thou, Euryalus, redeem thy wrong,  
A generous heart repairs a slanderous tongue.\*

\* *Odyssey*, Book viii. p. 200.

The princes cheerfully assent to the proposal of their king, and send in haste their heralds to bring gifts of gold and splendid vestments worthy the acceptance of the noble stranger. Then Euryalus, advancing courteously, presents his richly wrought sword to Ulysses, expressing much regret for what he had so rashly uttered, which he trusts will make no impression on the mind of the honored stranger, whom he intreats heaven to crown with every blessing and restore him in safety to his beloved spouse and native shores. Ulysses, animated with the like generous enthusiasm, received the proffered gift and throwing it gracefully over his shoulder, replied :—

And blest be thou, my friend;  
Crown him with every joy, ye favoring skies;  
To thy calm hours continued peace afford,  
And never, never, may'st thou want this sword.

As the day was fast closing, the assembled peers again repaired to the court, Alcinous leading the way, followed by heralds bearing the costly gifts of the Phæacian lords, which the sons of the king received and placed in order before their royal mother, whom the king, addressing as his best beloved and sole partner of his throne, requested she would order her attendants to bring in haste a polished coffer, sufficiently capacious to contain the princely presents.

That bath'd, our guest may bid his sorrows cease,  
Hear the sweet song, and taste the feast in peace.  
A bowl, that flames with gold of wond'rous frame,  
Ourself will give, memorial of our name;

To raise in offerings to almighty Jove,  
And every god that treads the courts above.\*

The queen, after arranging in order the robes and heaps of gold in a splendid chest, added a dress beautifully inwrought, as a gift expressive of her regard and sympathy for the illustrious stranger, and presenting it to Ulysses requested him to take and gird it securely with bands, lest loss should befall him on the way. Ulysses received it from the hands of Areté, and closing the lid girded it with Circean art in a labyrinth of bands.

The chief was now summoned to the bath by the mistress of the household, and with joy ascended, attended by a train of damsels ; where, having enjoyed the bath, a luxury to which he had long been a stranger, the attendants shed over him perfumes of the sweetest odor, and served him with rich attire. Thus splendidly arrayed, Ulysses was passing to the social hall to share the friendly feast, when he perceived the princess Nausicaa, who, all blooming and beautiful as a goddess, stood 'full where the dome its shining valves expand,' and beheld with admiration the majestic form of the hero ; when with graceful simplicity she bade him, when heaven should restore him to his beloved country, remember her, his first deliverer. Ulysses, filled with grateful recollection of the prompt and noble manner in which he had been relieved by the royal maid, tells her, that her worth adds splendor to her exalted race, and says, So may all powerful Jove restore me to my native land and delightful home, as I will there ever present my vows to thee, virgin by

\* *Odyssey*, Book viii. p. 201.

whom I live ! He said, and seated himself on a throne of state beside the king.

The bard was then introduced, who, as he passed, received the salutations of the throng, and was guided by the herald to a sculptured arch where he sat enthroned, encircled by the peers. The feast being served, Ulysses sends by a herald a delicious portion of food, as a pledge of love, to the master of the lyre, extolling his skill and inspiration as the gift of Phœbus, who had animated him with all his fires. The bard received with joy the meed of honor ; and when the feast was ended, Ulysses urged him to strike again the lyre and sing the fall of imperial Troy.

The bard, full of the god, raised the lofty lay and sang in solemn strains the fall of Ilion and the victorious conflicts of the Spartan king and the stern Ulysses, amidst the horrors of the dreadful day, when the lofty walls and beauteous palaces of Priam's royal race were wrapt in flames and their glories buried in the dust; Ulysses was greatly moved. The desolated city rose to his imagination in awful grandeur ; and he wept when he called to remembrance the mutability of fortune and the disasters of his own royal house.

Alcinous, again perceiving the deep affliction of his guest, commanded the bard to cease, and says, ' thy lay too deeply moves ; and although we ourselves have enjoyed the noble strain, it is most seemly that all alike should be gratified and gay during the social night ; thus our gifts of love, due to a distressed brother, may soothe his griefs to rest ere he departs.'

The king then demands the name and lineage of Ulysses, and inquired why flowed his tears when Troy was the theme ? reminding him that the ways of heaven were just. Ulysses, after congratulating the king on the peace and prosperity enjoyed by his people, remarks, ' how pleasant it is to listen to the poet's enchanting lays, and to witness the happiness of a people blest with peace and abundance ; why then, amidst so much felicity, should the king seek to learn the adventures of a miserable man ? '

The hero of Troy then proceeds to relate his name, with the renown he had acquired ; describing in glowing language the fair Isle which gave him birth ; declaring that no pomp or splendor could ever banish from his remembrance the image of his beloved country, or repress his strong desire to be once more united with the friends he so ardently loves.

When Ulysses had detailed minutely his wonderful adventures to the king and his peers, who had listened in rapt attention to his wonderful tale, Alcinous, touched with sympathy, arose and expressed his warm desire that, in addition to the costly gifts already bestowed, each peer should present their princely guest with an ample tripod and vase, expressive of the public love, who, after so many toils, might now find repose and be conveyed with joy to his beloved home. The counsel of the king was received with pleasure ; but, as night was approaching, all retired to seek repose in their separate mansions.

No sooner had the morning dawned, than each of the princes hasted to the bark with his noble present

preceded by the king, who himself arranged with care the ample treasures and splendid vases, that all might be transported uninjured ; then bade all present repair to the palace and partake of the parting feast.

A victim ox, beneath the sacred hand  
Of great Alcinous, falls and stains the sand ;  
To Jove the Eternal, (power above all powers !  
Who wings the wind and darkens heaven with showers);  
The flames ascend : till evening they prolong  
The rites, more sacred made by heavenly song.\*

When all had shared the hospitable feast, Ulysses, who had watched with anxiety the setting sun, the signal for his departure, now arose, and addressing the king and court, 'pours forth his whole soul in bidding them adieu.' He invokes heaven to enrich with its choicest blessings his generous and noble friends, whose abundant goodness he trusts will be confirmed by the protection of the immortal gods ; and their happy guest, after due libation, be safely conveyed to the home so deeply imaged in his soul.

His words well weigh'd, the general voice approv'd  
Benign, and instant his dismission mov'd ;  
The monarch to Pontonous gave the sign,  
To fill the goblet high with rosy wine :  
Great Jove the Father, first (he cried) implore,  
Then send the stranger to his native shore.  
The luscious wine the obedient herald brought ;  
Around the mansion flowed the purple draught.

\* *Odyssey*, Book xii. p. 8.

Each from his seat to each immortal pours,  
 Whom glory circles in the Olympian bower;  
 Ulysses sole with air majestic stands,  
 The bowl presenting to Areté's hands:  
 Then thus: O queen, farewell! be still possessed  
 Of dear remembrance, blessing still and blest!  
 Till age and death shall gently call thee hence,  
 (Sure fate of every mortal excellence!)  
 Farewell! and joys successive ever spring  
 To thee, to thine, the people, and the king!\*

Thus having said, Ulysses left the palace, and was ushered to the bark by a royal herald, attended by some maidens of Areté's train, bearing the presents, with ample store of food and wine of crimson hue, which, on arriving where the galley rode, they gave in charge to some of the brave mariners. Meantime soft painted arras was spread, with linen of the finest texture, for the bed of the hero, who embarking, silently reposed on his splendid couch, where, soothed by visions of happiness, he profoundly slept till the bright star of heaven gave promise of the rising day, and the bark arrived at the fair and spacious port of Ithaea.†

The beautiful portraiture of domestic manners and

\* *Odyssey*, Book xiii. p. 8.

† The wonderful rapidity with which Ulysses was conveyed to his home by Phæacian mariners, whom, he was assured, could impel their ships with great celerity regardless of conflicting elements, appears to have some analogy to the velocity of steam navigation; should this supposition be correct, it affords a striking example of the progress and vicissitude of the arts.

ancient hospitality here exhibited, affords abundant testimony, that the notions commonly entertained in reference to the insensibility of the former inhabitants of the earth to the endearing charities of life, together with their ignorance of the attributes and supremacy of God, cannot be sustained by any candid exposition of their writings. Accordingly we find that the supporters of these opinions, when compelled to explain the source from whence they originated, resort to casuistry and vague conjecture to sustain the theory adopted.

Those who wish to limit the beneficence of the Deity to a small portion of his creatures, whilst, in conformity with these crude notions, the great mass of intelligent beings are enveloped in darkness and doubt, and deprived of the cheering light which alone can guide them to a glorious immortality, must, in our apprehension, be deficient in true piety and those exalted impressions of the high and lofty One who inhabiteth eternity, which His attributes inspire and demand.

However opinions may be modified or varied, all mankind agree in ascribing unbounded goodness, wisdom, and power to the great Parent of the Universe, although many vague and contradictory notions are entertained by those who are incapable of comprehending the extent of His gracious designs. Nevertheless it is an enigma difficult to solve, when we find enlightened men embracing views so unworthy of the all-perfect Mind; and thus profaning His glorious attributes, by confining in one narrow channel those living waters which have ever flowed from the great fountain of

light and gladdened the whole earth. Do not the scriptures declare, in the most plain and decided terms, that 'the tender mercies of God are over all his works ?' and that 'at sundry times and in divers manners He hath instructed our fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days hath sent His son also ?' In the parable of the vineyard, the messengers sent all made the same demand ; and the son was sent with no new instructions, but with the expectation that his superior dignity would command the respect and reverence of the husbandmen.

The magnificent canopy of the heavens was exhibited in all its splendor to the admiring gaze of the pagan world, who failed not to arrange the wonderful assemblage of the starry host, or to observe the order, beauty and design, which governed all their movements ; how then could they be ignorant of Him who formed and fashioned and regulated the amazing whole ? 'For the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead.'

Religion should be presented bright and pure as imaged in nature by the Almighty hand ; and exemplified cleansed from earthly pollution by His glorious messenger Jesus Christ. 'Surely we may ask, without irreligion or irreverence, what can be more cheering than to trace by other means and from other sources the same great truths, the same exciting hopes which are positively revealed !' No arguments we apprehend are so well adapted to silence the objections of sceptics, as those which exhibit the beautiful analogy existing

between the religion of nature and revelation ; and of course nothing is more injurious and unwise than the attempt to establish the credibility of one on the ruins of the other,—‘ Christ came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil.’

The tissue of allegorical events, recited by Ulysses when at the court of Alcinous, has, in the opinion of some, given a fabulous character to the whole narration ; but it should be invariably kept in mind that the style of writing which prevailed among the ancients allowed to veil in allegory not only sublime truths, but to embody common incidents in a veil of mystery, which, at the period they wrote, were not difficult to solve, as they had doubtless reference to some popular belief or superstition. Would it be wise to reject all the great historical facts, celebrated by our noblest poets, because they have mingled fiction with realities ?

But above all we may quote the authority of scripture, which abounds in figurative or hyperbolical imagery, which, being imperfectly understood, has given scope for many forms of belief among the professed followers of Christ ; although the plain and simple doctrines remain uninjured. Take for instance the belief in the real presence. Nothing is declared in more positive terms than the affirmation, ‘ this is my body broken for your sins ;’ yet rational, well informed christians feel assured, that a thing so opposed to common sense and experience could not be intended to be literally believed, although they comply with the dying

request of their Lord, so far as is consistent with reason and religion.

The temptation of Christ, is also related in a distinct manner; but all intelligent christians agree in supposing this to be a visionary scene; for the incongruity is too glaring, to imagine that the highly favored messenger of the Most High, on whom His spirit was poured without measure, could be tempted to forego all the glory to which he was entitled by his devotion to the good of his fellow-men, by the promise of any earthly advantage however splendid. But what can exceed the absurdity and irreverence of those, who contend that Christ was in reality the Omnipotent Being who called the universe into existence; in the supposition of his being deceived or enticed by the creature whom He formed, and of course knew had no power except by His permission. Nevertheless, it is presumed that no one, susceptible of the beauty of truth, will reject the sublime doctrines inculcated by Christ, so altogether in unison with those impressions stamped in divine characters on the heart, because they cannot reconcile these enigmas, and others of the like character, with the great truths taught by this inspired teacher.

A slight investigation will, it is believed, furnish a clue to some of the wildest fictions of Homer. Thus the enchantments of Circe may be compared to those practised by her followers of whom she was the prototype; and the disgusting forms, to which the companions of Ulysses were subjected, who unhesitatingly submitted to the allurements of the sorceress, may in truth be compared to the senseless profligates

of the present day. Men, who thus abandon themselves to vicious indulgences, soon lose the grace and dignity of the 'human form divine ;' and in outward semblance, as in mind, bear a strong analogy to the brute creation. All relish for the pure intellectual pleasures of domestic life are banished from the soul ; the ethereal spark is obscured by sensuality, and hence 'they become mere creatures of earth, fit only to grovel like swine in the dust.'

' But Homer has extended his scene of fiction (says Campbell) even to the shadowy regions of the dead ; he has ventured into the darkest realm of fancy,' and his world of death inspires us with a melancholy and sublime interest. We feel however highly gratified to find the traditions of the Greeks, in reference to the future state of retribution, so well accord and harmonize with the truths of revelation,—and thus, notwithstanding the cavils of the bigoted, attests the divine impress of the Almighty on the hearts of all his intelligent creatures, however these impressions may be manifested by local forms, or the creations of fancy.

As no distinct revelation has been vouchsafed to man respecting either the joys of heaven or the pains of hell, every sect has taken the liberty to adjudge such rewards and punishments as were congenial to their peculiar institutions or pre-conceived notions. Hence we find the hell, or purgatory, of the Greeks thronged with unhappy, discontented shades ; who still clung to the guilty pleasures and pursuits, which consumed them during their earthly pilgrimage. Thus many, who had recently become the inmates of these

dreary abodes were still agitated by those fierce, vindictive passions, which, in pursuit of fame and vengeance, had impelled them to inflict ruin and misery on their fellow men ; and the conviction of their utter inability to extricate themselves from the wearisome thraldom, to which they were subjected whilst these passions were unsubdued, gave poignancy to their sufferings, and caused Achilles to utter the exclamation so often cited. These were unquestionably the expiatory pains, ordained by infinite wisdom, to purify and restore the human soul to its pristine dignity and perfection. The following lines, we think, confirm the correctness of our position :—

High on a throne, tremendous to behold,  
Stern Minos waves a mace of burnished gold ;  
Around ten thousand thousand spectres stand,  
Through the wide dome of Dis, a trembling band.  
Still as they plead, the fatal lots he rolls,  
Absolves the just, and dooms the guilty souls.\*

It has however been contended, by superficial observers, that even the Elysium of the Greeks was but an uncomfortable, dreary region ; but let these peruse with attention the prediction of the seer to the son of Atreus, and they will be compelled to renounce their supposition as altogether erroneous :—

But, O beloved of heaven ! reserved to thee  
A happier lot the smiling fates decree :  
Free from that law, beneath whose mortal sway  
Matter is changed, and varying forms decay,

\* Pope's Homer's *Odyssey*, Book xi. p. 276.

Elysium shall be thine ; the blissful plains  
Of utmost Earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns.  
Joys ever young, unmixed with pain or fear,  
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year ;  
Stern Winter smiles in that auspicious clime :  
The fields are florid with unsading prime ;  
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,  
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow ;  
But, from the breezy deep, the blest inhale  
The fragrant murmurs of the western gale.  
This grace peculiar will the gods afford  
To thee, the son of Jove, and beauteous Helen's lord.

There are beside many allusions to the blissful state of the just ' in the ever-blooming meads of asphodel.' And although the shadowy form of Hercules was seen towering amidst the ghosts within the Stygian bound, the hero himself, crowned with perpetual youth, resided with the immortal gods, among the bright inhabitants of heaven. The achievements of this devoted being in subduing the monster vice in its most hideous forms ; his contempt of danger and of death ; and his firmness in resisting the allurements which assailed him, entitled Hercules to this supreme felicity.

We feel unwilling to close this article without adverting to the sentiments advanced by Mr Campbell respecting the recent controversy, which has diffused some scepticism on the subject of the Homeric Poems.

' The old and ordinary opinion respecting Homer rests on the double argument, of the consent of antiquity, and the harmonious design apparent in the poems themselves. On the latter ground, a mind strongly susceptible of poetry may possibly build more

assurance to itself, than it may be able to communicate to others. For the perception of harmonious grandeur, in a poem, is a matter of taste more than demonstration. And persons of the highest philological authority in the question may sometimes be the most dead to this species of evidence. Mere erudition will no more insure the power of appreciating harmonious poetical design, than botanical skill will enable obtuse senses to enjoy the flavor of a fruit, or the smell of a flower.'

The poetry of Homer is not to be regarded merely as the overflowing of an exuberant fancy (says Wieland); nor is the personal genius of the author alone to be admired in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He is, to us at least, the representative of his Age.\*

In the brief abstract here given, from that part of the *Odyssey* which describes the reception of Ulysses at the court of Phæacia, it will readily be perceived, no attempt has been made to transfuse into the simple prose relation of the adventures, recorded by the poet, the beauty and harmonious flow of diction, which constitutes the peculiar charm of Homeric poetry. The embarrassments, to which translators have been subjected from a consciousness of their inability to do justice to the original, presents no obstacle to a right comprehension of the manners and sentiments that characterized the heroic ages, which is the main object we have in view.

\* *Edinburgh Review* for July 1830.

We would however remark, that, whatever embellishment the incidents related may have received from the glowing imagery and pleasing epithets of Homer, all must feel gratified with the piety, kindness, and urbanity, which prevailed in the social intercourse of this primitive people ; and with the hospitality, generosity, and courtesy, manifested for an unfortunate individual who, naked and defenceless, had been cast on their coast.

Every incident in this little drama excites anew our sensibilities. In the mild, paternal sway of Alcinous there is much, which commands respect and admiration. The skill and industry which prevailed, with the order, harmony, and abundance, so apparently resulting from the freedom and prosperity of the subjects, afford irrefragable proof that the science of government was well understood in this ancient community.

Nothing can be more gratifying to an ingenuous mind, than to find so much true piety, and submission to the decrees of One Supreme Omniscient Being, the maker and sustainer of the universe ; and to feel assured that this Almighty Being, from the beginning, has ever been the chief object of grateful veneration, whatever homage may have been paid to inferior powers. The answer of Eumeus to Ulysses, who, in the disguise of a mendicant, solicits his assistance, is an instance of this. The swineherd, after having given him the most humane and friendly assistance, thus addresses his unknown master :—

Eat, noble stranger ! and refreshment take  
Such as thou may'st ; God gives, and God denies,  
At his own will ; for He is lord of all.\*

In a note, at the bottom of the page, Cowper inserts the word in Greek without a relative, and consequently signifying God in the abstract. ' This (he says) is not unfrequently found in Homer ; though, fearing to give offence to serious minds unacquainted with the original, I have not always given it that force in the translation. But here the sentiment is such, as fixes the sense intended by the author with a precision that leaves me no option.'

In truth it is manifest, not only from the writings of Homer, but from all other ancient authors, that pure, religious, and social affections have been cherished from the earliest period, and have had ever a deep and controlling influence ; ' for the law was written on their hearts.' Let it not be deemed an objection that they were often gross, superstitious, and cruel ; when we advert to the corruptions, which have sprung up under a brighter revelation, and find persecution and bigotry still prevail, in opposition to all its most holy sanctions.

In the vivid delineation of the social affections, Homer is, in our estimation, unrivalled. ' To speak of Homer as a romantic poet of love (says Mr Campbell) would no doubt be very idle ; but still on the subject of that passion he has a negative merit and primitive modesty, which discriminate his works from the entire mass of classical poetry.

\* Cowper's *Odyssey*, b. xiv. p. 47.

In him the simplicity of nature preceded her earliest corruptions ; and, little as he says of love in the abstract, his females are very lovely. The innocent Nausicaa carries us back to the golden-age. His Penelope acts as his muse indites. The one exemplifying womanly virtue to be older than systems of morality ; the other showing inspiration to have gone before critical laws.'

The character and conduct of Areté the queen, and of the princess Nausicaa, give us a beautiful portraiture of the manners and sentiments, which were cherished in domestic life. Who can read the reception, given to Ulysses by Nausicaa, and her reply to his complaints, without being sensible of her superiority to most young females, whatever advantages they may have possessed ?

The mixture of simplicity and elegance, which formed a peculiar feature in ancient manners and modes of life, were doubtless truly exhibited by Homer. Thus the noble Nausicaa requests her royal sire to have a car in readiness to convey her and her damsels to the fountain, where Phœacian virgins lave their garments. She remarks, that their costly robes require the cleansing stream ; adding, that when the king appeared in council with his peers, his vestments should be unsullied and bright ; and that her brothers, who were now of age to wed, go not to the dance unless adorned and attired in spotless garments : all which it was her province to attend.

The king, in granting the request of the princess, expresses the strongest solicitude and affection ; and

tells her, that she can ask nothing which he will not give ; nevertheless, his respect for his daughter prevented him from appearing conscious that Nausicaa had likewise her own nuptials in view. The king immediately ordered his grooms to prepare the sumpter carriage ; while the queen commanded her train to get ready a sumptuous repast, and gave for unction a golden cruise of fragrant oil. On the return of the princess, her brothers released the mules, and bore in the raiment ; while she retired to her elegant apartment, attended by her ancient nurse, who from infancy had been devoted to her, and felt for the princess the tenderest love. Other attendants waited without, and guarded the portal.

In the same style, Ulysses found the king seated with his peers in one of the beautiful apartments of his superb palace, where the queen, in the midst of her maids, sat twisting wool tinged with sea purple. The Phœacian females were said to surpass all others in skill and fancy in tissue-work ; the thrones, or seats of state within the palace, were covered with their transparent embroidery. The employment of the females cannot be construed as derogatory, or as confirming the old and trite opinion that they were held in less estimation than at present,—when we find the queen so highly respected, and sharing the royal authority with her husband.

Neither should their occupation be deemed servile, when reference is had to the practice of kings and chiefs, who slew and dressed the animal intended for their repast, in the same manner as is done by the natives of our land, and in the Polynesian Islands. This

custom doubtless obtained among the Jews ; as we read of the savory meat, prepared by the sons of Isaac, to please the taste of their father, &c.

The Greek commentators accused the Phœaciens of being an effeminate people ; because they were not so much addicted to athletic sports, as they were emulous to excel in the race, in the song, and in the dance, and were also much pleased with changes of garments, bathing, feasting, &c. : yet it should be remembered, that their superior skill in seamanship guarded them against all invasion. The Princess Nausicaa thus reproves her maidens, who fled at the approach of Ulysses :—

Dread ye a foe ? dismiss that idle dread,  
 'Tis death with hostile steps these shores to tread :  
 Safe in the love of heaven, an ocean flows  
 Around our realm, a barrier from the foes.

The most pleasing conception of social existence that is afforded by the *Odyssey*, (says Campbell,) is met with in those books which describe the hero's short stay with Alcinous. The games, the palace, and the gardens of the Phœacian prince, and the mixture of primitive manners with the peace and festivities of his court, render this part of the poem a scene of relief to the imagination, on which we repose like a traveller on some delightful resting place, where the turf smells sweet, and where the balmy air repays him for his past and refreshes him for his future journey. It is here that Ulysses relates his adventures, after the natural caution and reserve of his heart had been thawed away by kindness and hospitality, and his

pride as a soldier awakened by the songs of Demodocus on the battles of Troy.'

With a view to illustrate the sentiments which have been the main design of this abstract, we avail ourselves of the authority of Sir W. Jones, whom the highly gifted Rammohun Roy speaks of in the following terms :\*—

' I deem it proper to refer to the meaning of the text as given by Sir W. Jones, whose talents, acquisitions, virtuous life and impartial research, have rendered his memory an object of love and veneration to all.

' The primeval religion of Iran, (says Sir William in his account of the old religions of the East,) if we rely on the authorities of Mohsani Fani, was that which Newton calls the oldest, and it may be justly called the noblest of all religions,—a firm belief that one Supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence ; a pious fear, love and adoration of Him ; a due reverence for parents and aged persons ; a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness for the brute creation.' Works, i. p. 87.

' From all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of science, from all the deductions of human reason, the general corollary admitted by Hindoos, Arabs, and Tartars, by Persians and

\* The sentiments here quoted were contained in a Sungskrit Tract, translated and presented to the writer of this article by the much celebrated Rammohun Roy, in replying to some queries respecting the correctness of the translation, given by sir William Jones, of the holiest verse in the Vedas.

by Chinese, is the supremacy of an all-creating and all-preserving spirit; infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures; nor are there in any language (the ancient Hebrew always excepted) more pious and sublime addresses to the Being of beings, more splendid enumerations of His attributes, or more beautiful descriptions of his visible works, than in Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit; especially in the Koran, the introduction to the poems of Sadi, Nizami, and Terdausi, the four Vedas, and various parts of the Puranas.' Works, i. p. 187.

' Of the religious opinions entertained by Confucius and his followers, we may glean a general notion from their works translated by Couplet. They profess a firm belief in the Supreme God, and give a demonstration of His being and of His providence from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the heavenly bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabric of the visible world.

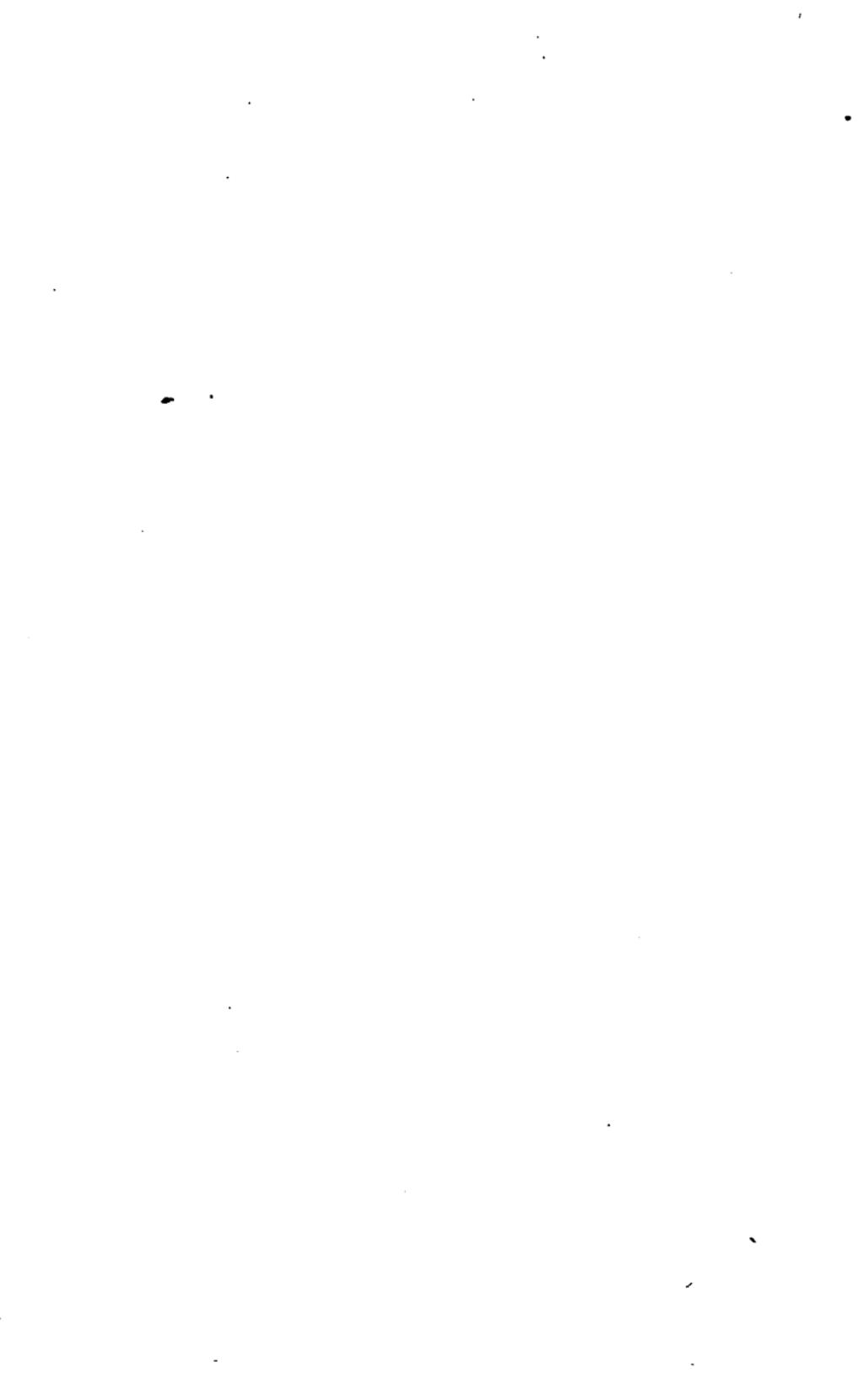
' From this belief they deduced a system of ethics, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the Lungu. ' He (says Confucius) who shall be fully persuaded that the Lord of heaven governs the Universe, who shall in all things choose moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act among them that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly said to discharge all the duties of a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race.' Works, i. p. 160.

‘Our divine religion has no need of such aids as many are willing to give it, by asserting that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that we must act in respect of others as we would wish them to act in respect of ourselves,—and that, instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us ; but the first rule is implied in a speech of Lysias, and expressed in distinct phrases by Thales and Pittacus, and I have seen it word for word in the original of Confucius, which I carefully compared with the Latin translation. It has been usual with zealous men, to ridicule and abuse all those who dare on this point to quote the Chinese philosopher ; but instead of supporting their cause, they shake it—if it could be shaken—by their uncandid asperity ; for they ought to remember that one great end of revelation, as it is expressly declared, was not to instruct the wise and few, but the many and unenlightened.’ Works, i. p. 167.

But nothing can afford a more irrefragable proof of the universality of christian principles, than the purity and sublimity in the religion of the untaught natives of our extended clime. ‘Of all the races of men, unenlightened by revelation, the original inhabitants of America were possessed of the purest, the simplest, the best religious belief. The striking and extraordinary features of their character, the wonderful degree of perfection to which they carried the noble and magnanimous virtues, will be remembered and honored so long as man has a soul of sensibility or a genius to comprehend the moral sublime.\*

\* Rev Mr Upham’s Thanksgiving Discourse.

Yet this peculiar and highly favored race of men, who dwelt undisturbed in this fair and fertile land, must have been separated for ages from the ancient world; indeed there exists no record of any intercourse or connection with the inhabitants of the other parts of our globe.



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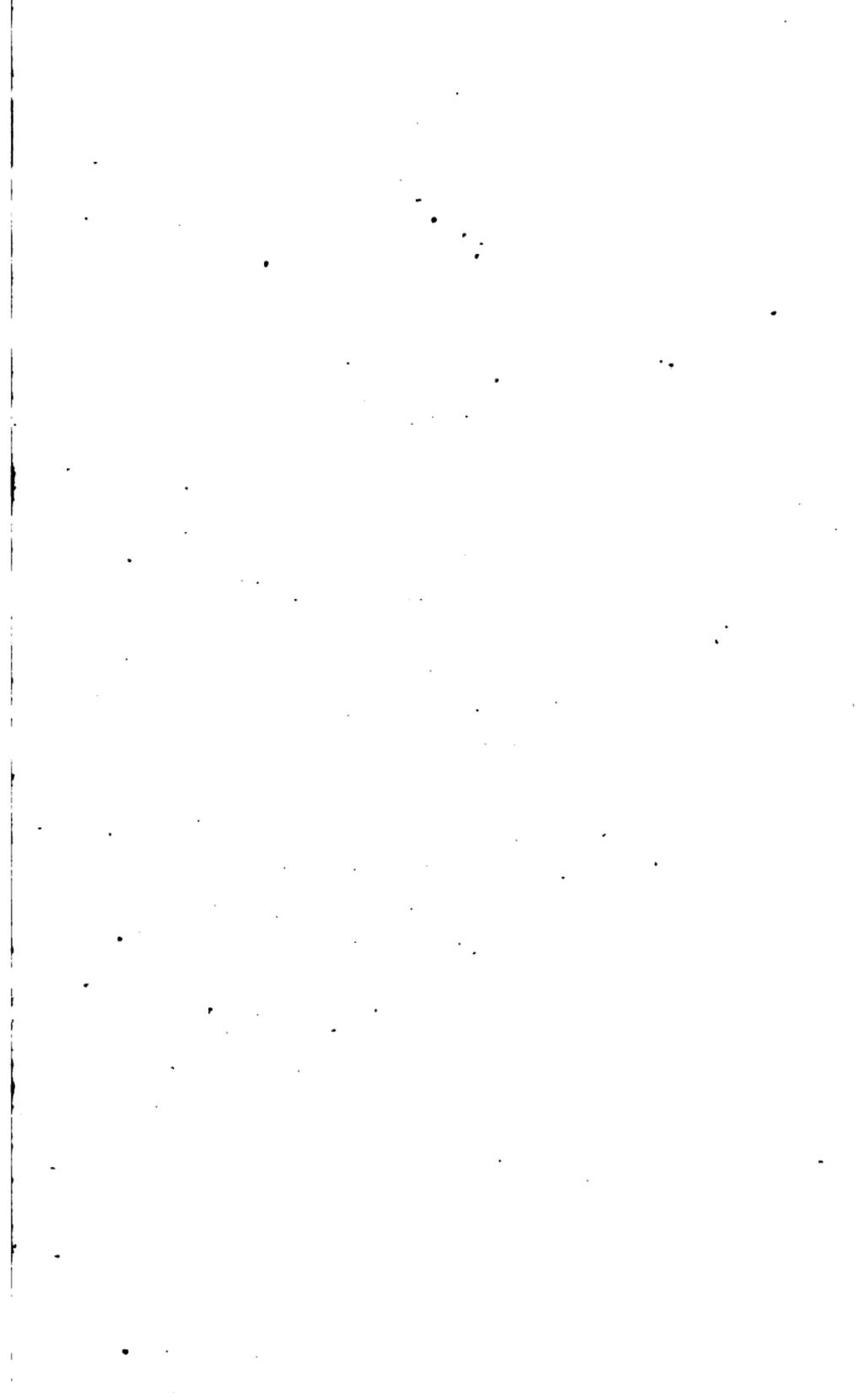
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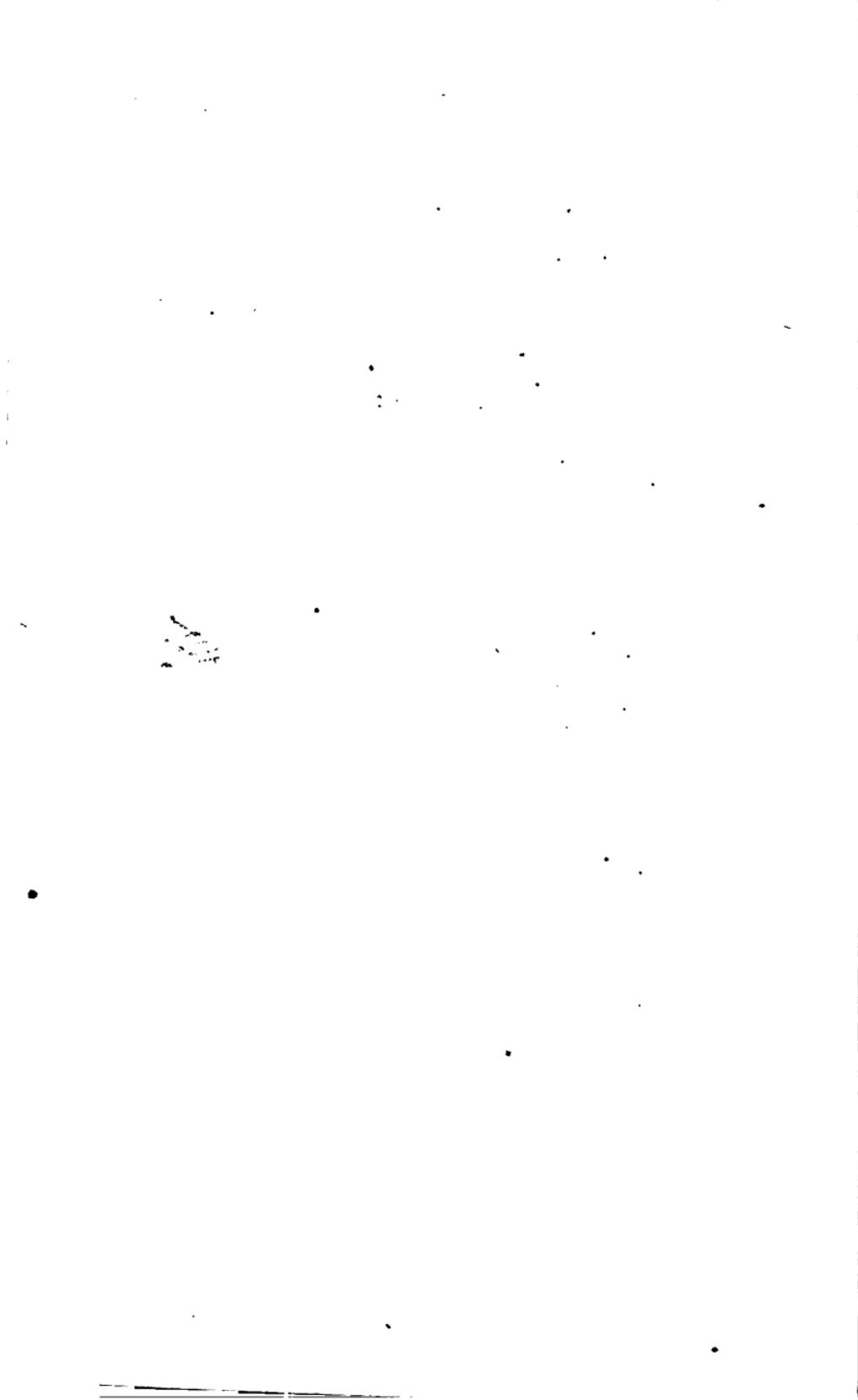
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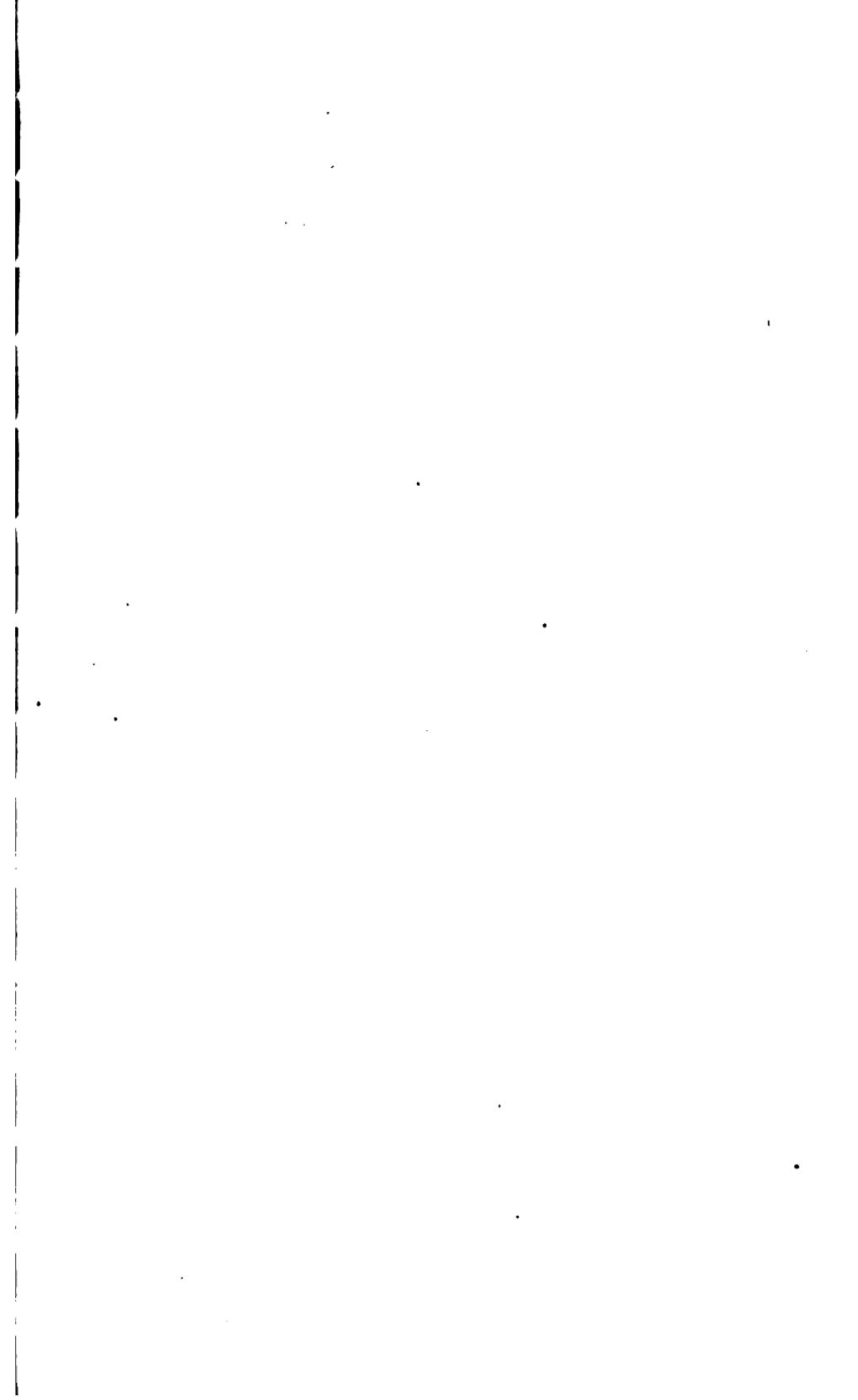
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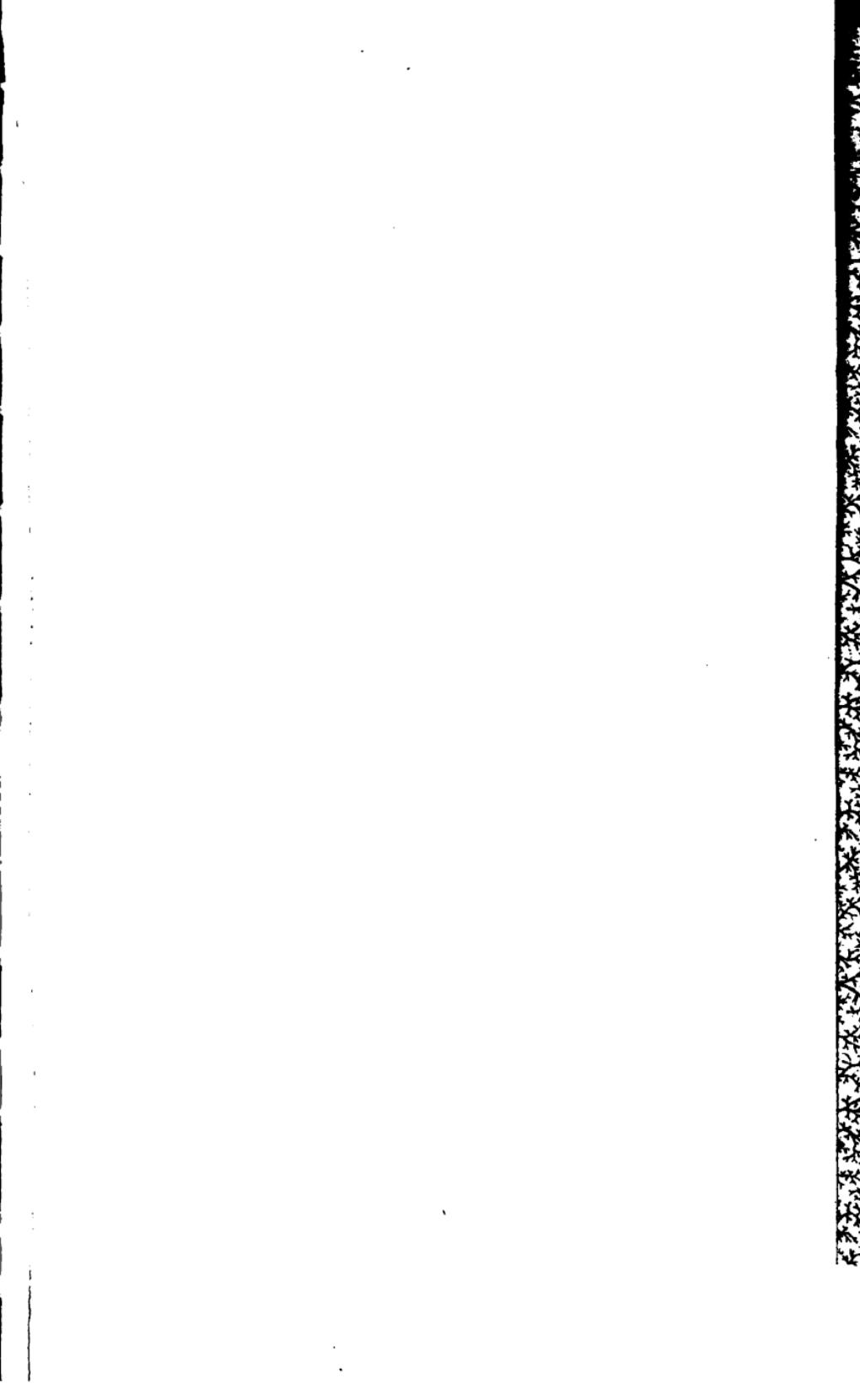
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